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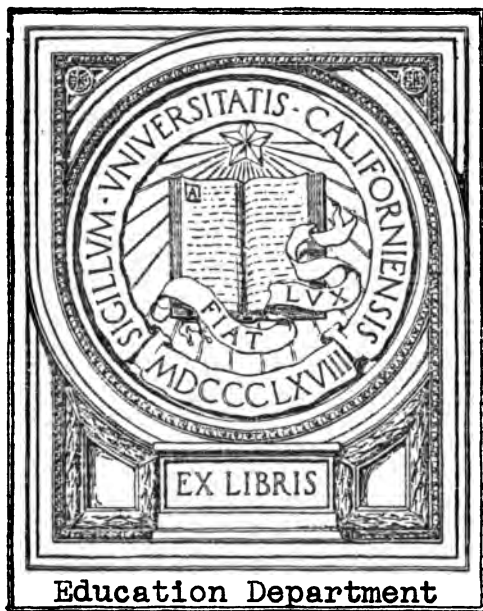
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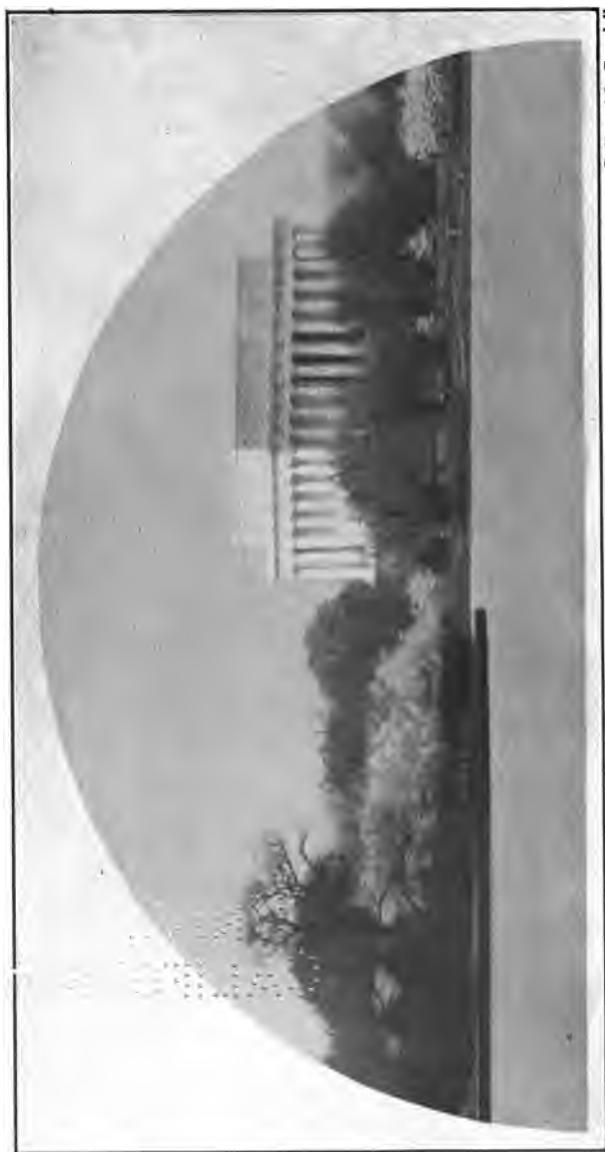
IN MEMORIAM

A. F. Lange



Education Department

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THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOURSCORE and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal It is for us, the living, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

—Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, delivered
on the battlefield of Gettysburg, Pa.,
November 19, 1863.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

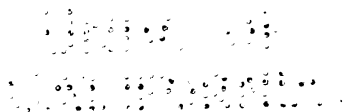
TO WHOM
ADDRESS

COMMUNITY CIVICS FOR CITY SCHOOLS

BY

ARTHUR W. DUNN

AUTHOR OF "THE COMMUNITY AND THE CITIZEN"
AND "COMMUNITY CIVICS AND RURAL LIFE"



D. C. HEATH & CO., PUBLISHERS

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251

Prof. A. F. Smith

H. Edwards

10 MAR
1922

INTRODUCTORY-NOTE

*Let youth help shape the world while the vision splendid is still
before its eyes.*—JEROME K. JEROME.

A year ago the author published his *Community Civics and Rural Life*, in the Introduction to which it was stated that:

"Training for citizenship in a democracy is a fundamentally identical process in all communities, whether urban or rural. But if it really functions in the life of the citizen, this process must consist largely in deriving educational values from the actual civic situations in which he normally finds himself. Moreover, instruction that relates to matters that lie beyond immediate experience must nevertheless be interpreted in terms of that experience if it is really to have meaning. At least half of the young citizens of America live in an environment that is essentially rural. Hence their need for civics instruction that takes its point of departure in, and refers back to, a body of experience that differs in many ways from that of the urban citizen."

The present book is fundamentally the same book as *Community Civics and Rural Life*; but, being prepared for the use of pupils whose experience is urban, it presents, in accordance with the principle stated in the foregoing paragraph, certain essential differences.

The controlling ideas around which all the subject matter of both books is organized are:

1. The common purposes in our community life;
2. Our interdependence in attaining these common purposes;
3. The consequent necessity for coöperation; and,
4. Government as an agency by which to secure coöperation in attaining common ends.

Team work through government for the achievement of common purposes may be said to be the *motif* that runs prominently through the entire text.

A few of the chapters in the present book stand practically as written for the rural book, with only slight revision: as, for example, the opening chapter, the chapters on "Our National Community" and "A World Community" (VII and VIII), and the concluding chapters on governmental organization (except for the addition of a chapter on "Our City Government"). Attention may be called, however, to important changes that distinguish the present book:

1. Throughout the book, where more or less abstract ideas are concretely illustrated, as in the case of "interdependence" (Chapter II) and "coöperation" (Chapter III), the major part of the illustrative material taken from rural life has been supplanted by similar material more familiar to the city boy or girl.

2. All of the chapters dealing expressly with the problems of community life (comprising the main body of the book), such as the home (Chapter IX), education (Chapter X), health (Chapter XI), the protection of property (Chapter XIII), and others, have been largely or entirely rewritten; for these problems present to the city community aspects entirely different from those presented to the rural community.

3. New chapters have been added: one on "Team Work in Industry," one on "How Government Serves Our Economic Interests," and one on "Our City Government." A chapter on "Property Rights" has been separated from the original chapter on "The Protection of Property."

4. Added emphasis has been given to the economic and industrial relations of community life; or, more accurately speaking, to the civic relations of industry. Chapters XVI-XXI, embracing 119 pages, deal directly with this phase of the subject, while Chapters XIII, XV, XXII, and XXIII are related to it.

5. The sequence of chapters followed in the rural book has been changed in certain particulars in the present book. The sequence in which topics are taken up for study by a class should be determined by various circumstances, and should not be rigidly fixed by the text book. The arrangement of the present book was decided upon, however, in order that the economic chapters might fall together in the second half of the course. Chapter XVI ("Earning a Living") makes an excellent beginning for the second half, though the course may be divided at an earlier point when desired (say with Chapter XIII or XIV).

It may be said, in this connection, that it is the judgment of the author that, if the course is to be included within a single year, that year should be the ninth—the first year of high school or the last year of junior high school. If the course is to cover two years, in accordance with present tendencies, its arrangement adapts it either to the seventh and eighth grades, or to the eighth and ninth.

6. A great majority of the photographic illustrations in the present book differ from those in the rural book.

The offering of two texts, one for rural pupils and one for those of cities, by no means implies the thought that rural conditions and problems should be ignored in the civic education of urban citizens, or *vice versa*. On the contrary, a crying need of the present is a keen appreciation on the part of all citizens,

urban and rural, of the close interdependence of city and country in a unified national life. Great stress has been placed on this idea at many points in both books. (See, for example, Chapter VI, "What Is Our Community?") The opportunity to emphasize the idea will be greatly increased, however, if a class using one of the books regularly as a text may have available for reference one or more copies of the other. By this means a richer fund of illustrative material will be made available and a greater breadth of view will be secured, than would be possible in a single volume of reasonable size.

The author may take this occasion to repeat what he has said many times before, that the term "community civics," certainly as applied to his own books, derives its appropriateness, not from any narrow application to "local study," but from the interpretation of citizenship and of government in their relation to national and world-wide, as well as local, community relations and interests. If there is one thing more than another emphasized in the present book (and in *Community Civics and Rural Life*), it is our *national* community of interests, our *national* interdependence, and our *national* need for team work. Our whole scheme of government—local, state, and national—is interpreted from this point of view.

The underlying, vitalizing features of "community civics" may be summed up as follows:

1. *The demonstration to the young citizen, by reference to his own observation and experience, of the meaning of his community life (local and national), and of government in relation to that life;*
2. *The cultivation of certain habits, ideals, and attitudes essential to effective participation in that life through government and otherwise.*

The aim of the present text is to fix in the pupil's consciousness a few essential ideas, which will help to determine his ideals and attitudes, by a judicious use of facts, which will thereby be more readily understood and remembered. Whether based on this textbook or some other, however, community civics cannot be successfully taught if it is made primarily a textbook study. The word "demonstration" has been used above advisedly. The text sets up ideas, interprets and exemplifies them; but "demonstration" can be made only as pupils draw upon their own observation and experience. The author has done his best constantly to direct attention to the actualities of the pupils' experience by interspersing numerous suggestive topics throughout the text. These topics are only suggestive, and should not be followed too literally. But to omit such studies as the topics suggest is to negative the value of community civics.

The successful teacher will seek to extend the pupil's experience by enlarging his opportunity to participate in group activities both within the school and in the community outside, and will make the fullest possible use of such

activities both as a means of "demonstrating" the operation of the fundamental principles of civic life, and as a means of cultivating "habits, ideals, and attitudes." "Training for citizenship through service" is an essential factor in community civics.

It may be added, finally, that the civics instruction in the grammar grades, or in the junior high school, will be vastly more effective if it is preceded in the six elementary grades by some such course as that outlined in *Citizenship In School and Out* (Dunn and Harris, published by D. C. Heath & Company), or in *Lessons in Civics for the Six Elementary Grades of City Schools*, by Hannah Margaret Harris (Bulletin, 1920, No. 18, U.S. Bureau of Education).

READINGS

A list of "Readings" is appended to each chapter. It is not to be expected that pupils in the grades for which the text is intended will do a great deal of supplementary reading; but an abundance of illustrative material is desirable and much more easily available than is often appreciated. The length of the list of "Readings," in some chapters, is due to the references to publications of the national government, many of which can be obtained free of cost from the departments issuing them, and all of which can be obtained at nominal cost from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. *Let the pupils use their government as freely as possible.*

In ordering from the Superintendent of Documents the money must be sent in advance (stamps are not accepted). Any number of copies of a given publication can be obtained through this channel if the price accompanies the order. Some of the federal departments have a rule that only one copy of a publication will be sent free to one person. Often publications can be obtained free by application to one's congressman. It is good civic training to allow classes to get in direct touch with their government through these various channels. It is also good civic training to teach pupils to have regard for the time of public officers and for the expenditure of public funds. Therefore, *it is desirable in most cases to have a single letter sent by the class or the school with a request for a single copy of a given publication to go into the reference library.* Lists of publications may be obtained from the several departments of government issuing them, or from the Superintendent of Documents. In applying to the latter, indicate the department, and if possible the bureau of the department, whose publications are desired.

Two most useful publications are *The Federal Executive Departments as Sources of Information* (Bulletin, 1919, No. 74, U.S. Bureau of Education, price 25 cents), and *Guide to United States Government Publications* (Education Bulletin, 1918, No. 2, price 20 cents). The government publication most

frequently referred to in the following Readings is *Lessons in Community and National Life*, published in three pamphlets (Series A, B, and C) by the United States Bureau of Education, price 15 cents for each pamphlet. These may be ordered directly from the Bureau or from the Superintendent of Documents, price accompanying the order.

Newspapers should become a "habit" with civics classes. Also magazines and periodicals. Such weeklies as *The Literary Digest*, *The Outlook*, and *The Independent* should be in constant demand. Among the most useful monthly magazines for this course is *The American City* (154 Nassau Street, New York City). For current progress in city government nothing is better than *The National Municipal Review* (261 Broadway, New York City). The use of the public library should also become a habit with the civics class.

Some good collection of patriotic literature is invaluable as a means of stressing civic ideals, such as Long's *American Patriotic Prose* (D. C. Heath & Company) and Foerster and Pierson's *American Ideals* (Houghton Mifflin Company), to both of which reference is made in the Readings.

Among the comparatively few books frequently referred to is Tufts' *The Real Business of Living* (Henry Holt & Company), with which, it seems to the author, every young American citizen should become familiar.

ARTHUR WILLIAM DUNN

July, 1921

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COMMUNITY CIVICS FOR CITY SCHOOLS

CHAPTER I

OUR COMMON PURPOSES IN COMMUNITY LIFE

THE most important element of success in community life, as in a ball game, a family, or a school, is *team work*; and team work depends, first of all, upon a *common purpose*. Our nation gave an example of team work during the recent war such as is seldom seen; and this was because every member of the nation was keenly intent on *winning*. We may see the same thing in our school when a holiday celebration is being planned, when an athletic tournament is approaching, or when some other school activity is under way in which all are deeply interested. We may see it in our town or neighborhood when enthusiasm runs high over some public enterprise.

**Team work
and common
purposes**

All communities have common purposes, although they are not always as clearly defined as when our nation was at war, or as in the other cases mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Sometimes the people of a community, or a large portion of them, seem to be wholly unconscious that a common purpose exists. This may be true even in a family or in a school. And when this happens, the

**Recognition
of common
purposes**

effect is the same as if there *were* no common purpose. No club or athletic team can be successful unless its members have a common purpose *and understand it*. In so far as our communities are imperfect — and none of them is perfect — it is largely because their members fail to recognize or understand their common purposes.

People in communities have common purposes because they have the same wants. This may not at first seem to be true.

Common purposes due to common wants In the streets of any large city we may see throngs of people hurrying hither and thither, jostling one another, apparently in the greatest confusion.

We wonder where they are all going, what they are doing, what they are seeking. There seems to be no unity of purpose; each person seems intent upon his own pursuits regardless of all others. The thing that first impresses us is the apparent variety of people's wants and often even the conflict or "crossing" of purposes.

But no matter how numerous and varied our activities, they are all due to a very few important wants, common to all of us alike. It will be worth while to test the truth of this, because it will help us to see our community life in some kind of order, and will throw a flood of light upon the common purposes that control it.

For example, we all want food, drink, and sleep, clothing to protect our bodies, and houses to shelter us. But all these things supply our *physical* wants; that is, they relate to *life and health*. Many of the things that we do every day are important because of their relation to our physical well-being. One reason why we enjoy out-of-door sports is that they make our blood tingle and give a sense of physical pleasure. Unless our physical wants are provided for, the other wants of life cannot well be satisfied. Good health is a priceless possession.

Mention some things you have done to-day for your physical welfare.

Another reason why sports and games give pleasure is because of the association they afford with other people. *Association with others* is a second great want which explains many of the things we do. Whatever may be our other reasons for going to school, it affords us the opportunity to meet and work and play with other boys and

The want for
association
with others



“INSPIRED BY A COMMON PURPOSE”

girls to our pleasure and profit. One of the objections often raised against life in the country is the lack of opportunity for association with other people. But one may be very much alone in a city crowd, where nearly all are strangers to one another, and where there is very little real association among individuals. Families often live in the same apartment house without knowing one another.

What are some things you do especially for the sake of companionship?

While going to school enables us to associate with others, the principal reason for going is to add to our *knowledge*. Whether we always like our studies or not, we certainly want knowledge, and seek it in many ways. We read the newspaper or magazine that comes to the home. We ask questions of parents

and others who have more experience than we. We stop to watch a group of men at work, or to find out what has attracted an unusual crowd. We may travel to see new sights. The discoveries and inventions that mark man's progress in civilization are the result of his unquenchable thirst for knowledge.



CELEBRATING THE COMPLETION OF AN ORNAMENTAL LIGHTING SYSTEM,
WICHITA FALLS, TEXAS

"Team work depends upon a common purpose. It is sometimes illustrated in our town when enthusiasm runs high over some public enterprise."

Mention some of the different ways in which you seek knowledge.

Mention some geographic and scientific discoveries that have been made through men's search for knowledge.

What is science? Name some sciences.

Besides health and knowledge and association with other people, we want surroundings that are pleasant and beautiful. The want for *beauty* is sometimes more neglected than other

wants, but it is important, and we all have it and seek to satisfy it in some way or other. It may be at one time by a walk in the park, or at other times by cultivating flowers, by keeping our room tidy, by looking at pictures, or by exercising good taste in clothing. We also enjoy that which is pleasing to the ear and to the other senses. We dislike hideous noises and foul odors.

In what ways do you provide for this want?



"THE LITTLE SANCTUARY"

Where Beauty and Religion blend

Very likely we go to church on Sunday. It affords opportunity to associate with others, to add to our knowledge, and to hear beautiful music. But the church service is one of the chief means by which people satisfy another of the great wants of life — the religious want. Individuals differ in their religious ideas and in the depth of their religious feeling, but in every community there are certain things that men do because of it.

What are some of the great religions of the world?

Is religion a strong influence in your community?

Can you mention any great historical events that were due to religious causes?

Sometimes after school, or on Saturdays, or in vacation time, we work at tasks to earn money, perhaps help in occupations that contribute to the "living" of the family. **The want for wealth** Doubtless we have thought more or less about what we are going to do for a living after we leave school. We all have a desire to own things, to have property, to accumulate *wealth*. This also is one of the great wants of life. We have perhaps already experienced the satisfaction of starting a bank account, of buying a set of tools, a bicycle, or some books. The chief reason why we want to "make money," or to own things (wealth), is because of what we can do with them. They enable us to satisfy our wants. Earning a living simply means earning the things that satisfy our wants in life.

Make a blackboard list of the occupations by which the parents and other members of the families of the pupils in the class make a living.

Make a blackboard list of things done by members of the class to earn money.

What is your choice of occupation by which to make a living in the future? Why? Make a blackboard list for the whole class.

The six kinds of wants that we have indicated clearly account for many of the things that we do. In fact, *all* of our wants are of one or other of these kinds and *everything* we do is important because of its relation to them. **These wants give purpose to community life** We may not be ready, yet, to accept this statement. We may think of wants that seem at first not to fall under any of these six kinds. It will do no harm to add other kinds to the list if we think it necessary. But, at all events, the six kinds of wants mentioned are common to all of us. We live in communities in order to provide for them, and a community is good to live in in proportion as it affords

opportunity to provide for all of them adequately. It is these wants that give *common purpose* to our community life.

Make as complete a list as possible of the things you did yesterday (outside of school as well as in school). Then extend the list to include the more important things done during the entire week.



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COLUMBUS MONUMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

It was the desire for knowledge, for wealth, and for the spread of Christianity that led Columbus to America.

Write the six wants across the top of a page of your notebook or a sheet of paper;

Health Knowledge Association Beauty Religion Wealth

Arrange the activities in your list in the six columns according to the wants which they satisfy. If any activity clearly satisfies more than one of the wants, write it down in *each* of the proper columns.

Which column is the longest? which comes next? which is the shortest?

Is your longest column also the longest in the lists made by other members of your class? Compare your other columns with those of your classmates. Which wants seem to keep you busiest?

Which do you think is most important? Why? Discuss this question in class. Do you all agree in regard to this point?

If any of the activities in your list are for the purpose of earning money, tell for what you expect to spend the money. Show how the things you expect to buy with your money will help to satisfy your other five wants.

For which of these six wants do *you* spend the most time in providing? your father? your mother? If there is a difference in the three answers, why is it?

Do you have difficulty in classifying any of the things you do, or that you see others do, under any of the six heads? Make note of these things and, as your study proceeds, see if the difficulty of classification is removed.

Suppose a boy is a *bully*: what wants does he satisfy by his bullying conduct? Suppose a boy or a girl is ambitious to become a *leader*, either among present companions or later in social life, business, or politics: under which head or heads would you place this ambition?

A boy wants to enlist in the army, or a girl as an army nurse: do these wants come under any of the six heads?

Would you, after your discussion of these topics, add any other group or kind of wants to the six mentioned? If so, what would you call it?

Every one wants *happiness*. Why is it not necessary to make a special group under this head?

Make a list of things done in your home to provide for each of the six wants.

What is done in your school to provide for the want for health? for beauty? for association with others? for the religious want? Has your school work any relation to your desire to make a living? Is it the business of the school to provide for all these things as well as for the want for knowledge?

Make a list of a few things done in your community outside of the home and school to provide for each of the six wants.

Think of something in which your entire community is deeply interested, such as the improvement of the streets, or the building of a new high school, and explain what wants it provides for.

What wants do the following things provide for: postal service; weather reports; boy or girl scouts; a school garden; a library; the telephone; a hospital; a parent-teacher association?

We may often hear our common purposes as communities or as a nation stated in different terms than those suggested in the paragraphs above. For example, Franklin K. Lane, the Secretary of the Interior during the war, said, "Our national purpose is to transmute days of dreary work into happier lives — for ourselves first and for all others in their time." Again, President Wilson said that our purpose in entering the World War was to help "make the world safe for democracy." Although these two statements read differently, they mean very much the same thing; and they both refer in general terms to the things this chapter discusses in more familiar and express terms. For "happier lives" can only result from a more complete satisfaction of our common wants. And "democracy" means, in part, that the *common wants of all* shall be properly provided for.

In the Declaration of Independence we read:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The statement that "all men are created equal" has troubled many people when they have thought of the obvious inequalities that exist in natural ability and opportunity. But whatever inequalities may exist, people are equal in their *right* to satisfy the wants described in this chapter. These are the "unalienable rights" which the Declaration of Independence sums up in the phrase "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." That community is best to live in that most nearly provides equal opportunity for all its citizens to enjoy these rights. From the Declaration of Independence to the present day our great national purpose has been to increase this opportunity, even though at times we have apparently not been conscious of it, and even though we have fallen short of its fulfillment. One of the chief objects of our study is to find out how our communities are seeking to accomplish this purpose.

"The Declaration of Independence did not mention the questions of our day. It is of no consequence to us unless we can translate its general terms into examples of the present day and substitute them in some vital way for the examples it itself gives, so concrete, so intimately involved in the circumstances of the day in which it was conceived and written. It is an eminently practical document, meant for the use of practical men. . . . Unless we can translate it into the questions of our own day, we are not worthy of it, we are not sons of the sires who acted in response to its challenge."

— WOODROW WILSON, in *The New Freedom*, pp. 48, 49.

A and B are two boys of the same age. One was born in a rich family, and one in a very poor family. So far as this accident of birth is concerned, have they equal *opportunity* to satisfy the wants of life? Have they an equal *right* to health? to an education? to pleasant surroundings? to earn a good living?

Suppose A is a native American boy, and B a foreign-born boy who speaks a foreign language: does this make any difference in their *right* to life and health, an education, etc.? Does it make any difference in their *opportunity* to satisfy their wants in these directions?

Can you think of persons in your community who have less *opportunity* to satisfy their wants than you have? Can you think of any persons who have less *right* to satisfy their wants than you have?

The first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States comprise what is known as a "bill of rights." Study together in class this bill of rights (see Appendix) to see how many of the wants described in this chapter are there provided for directly and indirectly.

Has your state constitution a bill of rights? If so, read it together in class for the same purpose as suggested in the last question.

READINGS

Preamble of the Constitution of the United States (see Appendix).

The Declaration of Independence.

Dunn, Arthur W., *The Community and the Citizen*, chaps. i, iv (Heath).

Tufts, James H., *The Real Business of Living* (Henry Holt & Co.), chap. xxxix, "Democracy as Equality."

Van Dyke, Henry, "Equality of Opportunity," in Long's *American Patriotic Prose*, pp. 311, 312 (Heath).

See the note on reference materials in the Introduction to this book, page v.

It should become a habit of both teacher and pupils to be on the constant lookout for news items and discussions in available newspapers and periodicals.

cals illustrative of the points made in each chapter or lesson. Individual scrapbooks may be made; but more important than this is the assembling of such material as a class enterprise, its classification under proper heads, and its preservation in scrapbooks or in files as working material for succeeding classes. There will always be enough for each class to do, while each class at the same time contributes to the success of the work of later classes. The idea of *service* should dominate such work.

CHAPTER II

HOW WE DEPEND UPON ONE ANOTHER IN COMMUNITY LIFE

Interdependence an important fact

NOTHING could be freer than air. But, even as we sit in our schoolroom, whether or not we get all the pure air we need depends upon how the schoolhouse was built for ventilation, the number of people who occupy the room, the care that is taken by others to keep the room free from dust, the health and cleanliness of those who sit in the room with us. If this dependence upon others is true in the case of the very air we breathe, how much more true it must be of other necessities of life that are not so abundant.

This dependence of people upon one another for the satisfaction of their wants is one of the most important facts about community life. It is not merely that A and B have the *same* wants, but that A is dependent upon B, and B upon A, for the satisfaction of their wants, that makes their wants *common*.

Mention the people, both inside and outside of your home, who had a share in providing for you the food you had for breakfast or dinner.

Mention all the workers that occur to you who have been employed in producing for you the clothing you wear; the book you are reading; the materials of which your house is built.

Show how the people who produce these things are dependent upon your wants for their livelihood.

Show that you are dependent upon other people for your education; for recreation. Are other people dependent upon your education for their welfare? Are others dependent on you for their recreation?

The farmer's life, like that of the pioneer, is comparatively independent. In early New England



Courtesy *American Magazine of Art*

THE PIONEER

Statue at the University of Oregon

"He landed at Plymouth Rock and with his dull-eyed oxen has made the long, long journey across our continent. His way has been hard, slow, momentous.

"Without him we would not be here.

"His is this one glory — he found the way." — *Franklin K. Lane.*

Every farmhouse was a manufactory, not of one kind of goods, but of many. All day long in the chamber or attic the sound of the spinning-wheel and loom could be heard. Carpets, shawls, bed-spreads, table-covers, towels, and cloth for garments were made from materials produced on the farm. The kitchen of the house was a baker's shop, a confectioner's establishment, and a chemist's laboratory. Every kind of food for immediate use was prepared there daily; and on special occasions sausages, head cheese,

Independence of the pioneer



ISOLATION

A pioneer homestead on the prairies

pickles, apple butter, and preserves were made. It was also the place where soap, candles, and vinegar were manufactured. Agricultural implements were then few and simple, and farmers made as many of them as they could. Every farmhouse was a creamery and cheese factory. As there were no sewing machines, the farmer's wife and daughters had to ply the hand needle most of the time when they were not engaged in more laborious pursuits. During the long evenings they generally knit socks and mittens or made rag carpets.¹

As soon as a number of people come to live together, even in a pioneer community, it is likely that some members will have

¹ Nourse, *Agricultural Economics*, p. 64, from "The Farmer's Changed Conditions," by Rodney Welsh, in the *Forum*, x, 689-92 (Feb., 1891).

a knack for doing certain things of use to the community better than others can do them. Thus one man may be especially skillful in making ax handles. In time, the entire community comes to depend upon him for its ax handles. In addition, he probably makes other tools and does repair work of all kinds. This requires

The growth
of inter-
dependence



THE SPINNING ROOM AT MT. VERNON, WASHINGTON'S OLD HOME

"All day long in the chamber or attic the sound of the spinning-wheel and loom could be heard."

so much of his time that he does little or no farming, and depends upon others for his food supply. So, in the course of time, the community has its blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, teachers, storekeepers, doctors, upon whom it depends for their special kinds of service, while each of them depends upon others to supply the wants that he has neither the time nor the skill to supply for himself. Thus interdependence develops in the simplest communities.

The larger a community becomes the greater, in many ways, is the interdependence of its members. The greater the number of people, and the more closely together they live, the more easily is disease spread and the more one's health depends upon what one's neighbors do. The same is true with respect to safety of life and of property. The property that we own may increase

Interdependence increases with the growth of the community



SPINNING ROOM IN MODERN COTTON MILL

or decrease in value according to the care that our neighbors take of their property; it will be less valuable if the neighbors let their buildings run down and their premises become littered with trash, than it will be if they keep their buildings in good repair and their premises in good order. Men often buy property and let it lie idle while it increases in value because of improvements in the neighborhood. The increase in value of property due to this cause is known as the *unearned increment* — that is, the unearned increase.



AN AREA OF HIGH VALUES

The church building shown here (Trinity Church, New York City) was erected in 1846. Since then all these massive buildings have crowded around it, until the land values at this point are probably higher than anywhere else in the world.

When Judge Edward Pinkney Hill, one time a citizen of Houston, Texas, died, he left a will to the following effect:

"I give, bequeath and *return to the people of Houston* in their corporate capacity as the city of Houston . . . all my property, real and personal, that I may own at my death.

"I am influenced to this disposition of my estate by the reflection that I went to Houston early in 1886 with nothing. When I had made a few dollars above necessity I invested in city lots and continued like investments while I lived there up to 1897, before which time, after a division of my property, there remained to me enough to enable me to retire from business. This good fortune came unearned by me through increased value of real estate, and it seems appropriate that the city of Houston should have such share in that good fortune as I am in a situation to return."¹

What is your opinion of the citizenship of this citizen of Houston?

Do you know of cases in your own community where land has increased in value while lying idle? The reasons?

Do you know of cases in your community where property has depreciated in value because of neighborhood influences?

Why should the growth of your community increase the value of your home? Why should the care you take of your premises tend to influence the growth of your community?

Give illustrations to show how your health is dependent upon other people in your home, in your neighborhood, in remote parts of the city. Also, how the health of others may be dependent upon you.

Suppose a schoolmate comes to school with measles or some other contagious disease. How may this affect your school work? Your association with others? How may it ever add to your father's expenses?

Show the interdependence of people in your community for safety from fire; for safety from accident in the shop or on the street.

Is your family more or less dependent upon others to supply its wants than the families of your parents or grandparents when they were children? Why is it? Get all the information you can from your parents or grandparents on this point.

Which is more dependent upon others for its daily wants, a family that lives on a farm in your neighborhood or one that lives in town? Give examples to prove your answer.

A city man may be entirely unacquainted with most of the people around him, even in his own block, and may apparently

**Interde-
pendence
not always
apparent**

have no concern in their affairs. And yet doubtless most of his neighbors and many of those whom he passes on the street are engaged in industries or businesses without which his own business or profession might fail, or without which he could not even build his own home,

¹Quoted from *The American City*, Nov., 1920, p. 509.

Make a census of the block in which you live and tabulate the occupations, businesses, and professions represented by the residents, including that of your father. Then show the interdependence existing among them.



TEEMING LIFE IN THE CITY

"Throngs of people hurrying hither and thither, apparently in the greatest confusion. Interdependence may easily be lost sight of when the community becomes large; but it is none the less real, and even more far-reaching."

If we want coffee, or sugar, or other provisions for breakfast or dinner, we go or telephone to the grocer. He performs an important service for us. If his service is poor, or his prices too high, he is likely to receive the blame for it. But the prices he charges and the service he gives are partly dependent upon his customers; and the customers are dependent upon one another, to some extent, for the prices they pay and the service they get. It takes money to run a grocery. If some customers are slow in paying their accounts, it interferes with the service

**Familiar
examples of
interdependence**

given to themselves and to other customers. The prices a grocer charges are likely to be put high enough to cover losses from the failure of an occasional customer to pay his bills. In these days of telephones, it is a common practice for people to telephone frequent orders during the day for small items and ask to have them delivered, whereas, with a little forethought, the day's supplies could be ordered at one time and delivered at one time. Frequent deliveries at one home tend to delay deliveries at other homes and to add to prices, for the maintenance of a delivery system adds to the grocer's expenses.

The interdependence of people in communities extends far beyond the limits of the neighborhood or city, as will be seen if we follow through the process by which almost any of our common needs is provided for. We want a pair of shoes, for example. Though bought at a local store, they are made for us in a factory employing hundreds of men and women, probably in a distant city, say in Massachusetts. The leather from which they are made is produced from the hides of cattle raised in the Far West or perhaps even on the plains of Argentina. It is tanned by the use of an acid from the bark of certain forest trees. The machinery by which the shoes are made is manufactured still by other machines, and the necessary metals are produced by miners. To smelt the ores from which the metals come, and to operate the factories, there must be fuel from other mines. The workers engaged in all these operations must be fed and clothed and housed, requiring the labor of farmers and food packers, millers and bakers, lumbermen and carpenters, operators of cotton and woolen mills, and many others. At every stage transportation enters in, — by team and automobile truck, by railway, by water. The money with which we buy the shoes is coined or printed in establishments operated by our government from metals or on paper produced by a variety of industries. It has come into our possession to use in buying shoes

Interde-
pendence
far-reaching

because we, or our parents, have *earned* it by performing some service useful to all the other workers.

These are only a part of the activities necessary in order that we may have a pair of shoes. It would seem that practically every kind of worker and industry in the world has something to do with it. People in communities to-day are indeed very interdependent.

Make a list of the occupations of the parents of the members of your class, and show how the parents of each pupil are dependent upon the occupations of the parents of all the other members.

We best realize our interdependence when something happens to disturb our accustomed relations, just as we best realize the value of the telephone when it is out of order, or of the street cars when they are not running. We are unpleasantly reminded of it, for example, when our apparently smoothly running community life is thrown into confusion by a strike of some group of railroad men, of carpenters or steamfitters, of steel workers, of miners, of teamsters, or of longshoremen.

Unexpected
results of
interde-
pendence

The recent great war produced conditions that made us conscious of our interdependence in unexpected ways. For example, if we had gone into a store to buy underwear in the early part of the war, we should have found that the price had greatly increased, and we might have been told, if the salesmen were well informed, that the high price was due in part to the manufacture of airplanes! The explanation is that the wire stays used in the manufacture of airplanes are made of steel wire from which machine knitting needles are also made. In the early part of the war all of the available wire of this kind was taken for airplanes, thus limiting the supply of knitting needles and consequently of knit goods.

This chapter is meant to suggest by a few examples how impossible it is for any one in the community to live to himself. Each is affected for good or for ill by all that goes on around him, and each in turn exerts his influence upon others. An apparently insignificant act may profoundly affect the life of the community. A family

No one can
live to him-
self

that is careless in the disposal of refuse from the house or stable may unconsciously poison the water supply of an entire community. Sometimes men oppose public improvements, such as paved streets or a new school building, because they see only the direct money cost, and fail to see more important losses to themselves and to the community if the improvements are not made.

These facts suggest the unwisdom of forming hasty judgments about things that happen, or conditions that exist, or proposals that are made, in our community life. There are people in every community who are always ready to tell glibly just why the cost of living is so high, and who is to blame for it; or just how the schools, or the railroads, or the city government, should be run to get the best results. As a matter of fact, even those conditions or events that are apparently most simple are usually related to other conditions and events that are not at first apparent. Wise judgment and wise action are dependent upon the most complete knowledge obtainable.

Another result of this fact of interdependence in community life is that it places certain restrictions upon our liberty, which is said by the Declaration of Independence to be one of the "unalienable rights" of all men. If any member of the community had absolute liberty to do as he pleased, he would soon interfere with the rights of others. Then what would become of the "equality" which the Declaration also proclaims? *Equal liberty for all* is the aim of democracy, and this can be obtained only when each acts with full regard for the rights of others. This is what is meant by "justice." "Liberty," "justice," "equality,"—these are essential in a democracy. But they are often misunderstood.

"What is liberty? I have long had an image in my mind of what constitutes liberty. Suppose that I were to build a great piece of powerful

**Danger of
hasty judgments**

**Interdependence
restricts
liberty**



Courtesy American Magazine of Art

WASHINGTON MONUMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

"It stands in our national capital as the uplifted arm of a free people rising to the heavens as a national pledge, that we who have had the advantages of free institutions, that we who have in our hearts ideals of liberty and justice, will stand firm as stone and pledge our eternal loyalty to those ideals, to those mysterious things which go to make up a democracy. It is that spirit that makes America." — FRANKLIN K. LANE.

machinery, and suppose that I should so awkwardly and unskillfully assemble the parts of it that every time one part tried to move it would be interfered with by others. Liberty for the several parts would consist in the best possible assembling and adjustment of them all, would it not? That is liberty! You say of the locomotive — it runs free. What do you mean? You mean that its parts are so assembled and adjusted that friction is reduced to the minimum, and that it has perfect adjustment. . . . Human freedom consists in perfect adjustments of human interests and human activities and human energies."

— WOODROW WILSON, *The New Freedom*, p. 282.

In an entertaining article in the *American Magazine* for September, 1920, Mr. Irving S. Cobb says, "My present aim is to show how utterly we have lost our freedom in certain minor details; for example:

Freedom to wear the sort of garments one fancies.

Freedom from unnecessary and nerve-shredding noises.

Freedom to enjoy a reasonable degree of privacy, when so inclined.

Freedom to have, in moderation, fresh air and light.

Freedom to practice thrift in the matter of spending — or husbanding — one's spare cash."

Show how our dependence upon one another restricts our freedom in each of the above particulars.

Does a child become more or less dependent upon others as he grows older? Explain your answer.

Show that as a person becomes more "self-dependent" other people become more dependent upon him; for example, in the home, and in school.

We often hear of "self-made men." What does it mean? Can a man be entirely "self-made"?

Show that your schoolmates are as dependent upon you as you are upon them.

Watch the newspapers for items illustrating interdependence, or conflicts due to it.

Is the community in which you live dependent upon you in any way? Give illustrations.

Taxpayers like to keep the tax rate as low as possible. In their interest in doing this, is it possible that they might interfere with your getting a good education in favorable surroundings? Explain. Who are the taxpayers?

From observation in your own community, give illustrations to show how people, in attempting to satisfy their own wants, may interfere with the efforts of others to satisfy theirs. The following are given as suggestions:

An employer and those whom he employs.

A man who owns a house and the tenant to whom he rents it.
A man who keeps a livery stable adjoining a schoolhouse.
A grocer who displays his goods on the sidewalk (especially food products).
A boy who raises chickens and one who has a garden adjoining.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life (see note on reference materials in Introduction):

Series A: Lesson 1, Some fundamental aspects of social organization.

Lesson 2, The western pioneer.

Series B: Lesson 1, The effect of the war on commerce in nitrate.

Lesson 2, The varied occupations of a colonial farm.

Lesson 12, Impersonality of modern life.

Series C: Lesson 1, The war and aeroplanes.

Lesson 2, Spinning and dyeing in colonial times.

Lesson 9, Inventions.

Lesson 11, The effects of machinery on rural life.

Dunn, Arthur W., *The Community and the Citizen*, chaps. i, v; and *Community Civics and Rural Life*, chap. ii.

Tufts, James H., *The Real Business of Living*, chap. xiv (The New Meaning of Life), and chap. xxxi (Problems of country life).

Earle, Alice Morse, *Home Life in Colonial Days* (Macmillan).

Finley, John H., "Paths of the Pioneers," in Long's *American Patriotic Prose*, pp. 1-4.
Pioneer stories from any available source, especially local history stories.

CHAPTER III

THE NEED FOR COÖPERATION IN COMMUNITY LIFE

WHEN people have common purposes and are dependent upon one another in accomplishing them, there must be *co-operation*, which is another name for "team work."

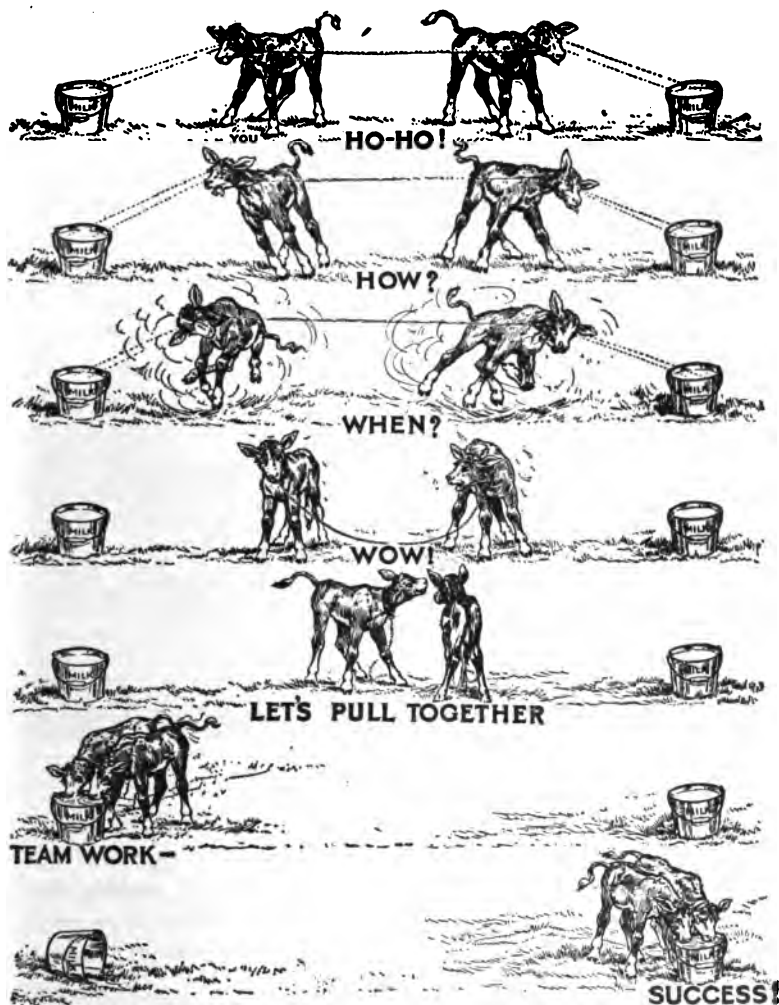
**The need
for team
work**

A team of horses that does not pull together cannot haul a heavy load. A baseball team, though composed of good players, will seldom win games unless its team work is good. A few soldiers or policemen may easily disperse a mob, because they have team work, while a mob usually does not. This principle of "pulling together," "team work," or "coöperation," is of the greatest importance in community life. There can be no real community life without it.

Coöperation is sometimes a very simple matter, as when a number of boys join forces to move a heavy object that defies the efforts of one. When children help their mother in household tasks it is an example of team work. Because all share in the task, it is completed quickly and pleasantly. A group of girls or boys may study a lesson together, and by their united effort learn it more quickly and happily than if each studied by himself.

However, the group of girls or boys who are "studying together" may fail to get results; instead of having learned their lesson more quickly, they may find that no one has mastered it. This may be merely because other interests have been allowed to interfere with the *common purpose* for which they came together. But it may also be due to the lack of two things that are quite

**Essentials
for effective
coöperation**



(Courtesy of Armour & Co.)

IN UNION THERE IS STRENGTH

necessary for effective team work, namely, *organization* and *leadership*.

If we watch a group of workmen lifting a steel rail, or other heavy object, we shall perhaps observe that some one of them gives a signal, and that all sing out in unison, "Yo, heave, ho!" This has the effect of *organizing* their effort, so that all exert their strength at the same moment and with the greatest result. In homes where the



PULLING TOGETHER

mother and children do the housework, it moves most smoothly when it is organized under leadership. In this case there is probably a *division of labor*; that is, instead of all washing the dishes, which might cause confusion in the kitchen, two may perform this task, while another may make the beds, and another straighten up the front part of the house.

What are the advantages of such organization of home work?

If one or more servants are employed in the home, does it increase or decrease family coöperation? Why? Under these conditions what part

does the mother of the family play? The children in the family? What advantages may be gained by this kind of organization in the home?

Give examples of coöperation in your home, and show what is gained by it. In what ways do you think coöperation could be improved in your home? Work out a plan for it.

Give examples of coöperation in your school. Suggest plans to improve such coöperation.

Give illustrations of the failure of enterprises in which you have been interested because of a lack of team work.

Athletic sports afford excellent examples of organization and leadership to secure team work. In a baseball or football team, each member plays a part different from that of all the others, but all work together like a machine. We have only to compare the playing of a professional team with that of a chance "nine" of boys hastily brought together on a city lot, to see the importance of organization under leadership. We see it again if we compare the highly effective work of a fire company, or a battalion of companies, with the futile efforts of an equally earnest crowd of unorganized people to save property from fire. Every industrial plant, and every successful business establishment such as a bank or a department store, or a newspaper office, affords an example of organization and leadership to secure coöperation. Business simply cannot be carried on successfully without it.

Describe in detail the "organization" of an athletic team. Just how does each feature in this organization help to secure team work?

Do the same for a fire company in your community.

If your father or other member of your family works in a large store or factory, or helps to manage one, ask him how team work is secured there, how the work is organized for that purpose, how leadership is provided for. Have reports of these conversations made in class.

Study the organization of a factory, department store, or newspaper establishment in your community. Observe particularly how each worker in one of these establishments is likely to be a "specialist" (what does this mean?), and how organization and leadership combine the work of all these specialists in the final product, such as the printed newspaper.

List the clubs, or other "pupil organizations," in your school, and "or-

ganizations" to which you belong outside of school. Note the "common purpose" of each; the interdependence of the members of each. Describe how each is organized for teamwork. How is leadership provided for? Is there a "constitution"? If so, what is it for?

Describe the organization of your school. How does it secure team work? Does it fail in any way to secure team work? If so, why is it?



DIRECT COÖPERATION IN BUILDING FARM BUREAU CENTER HALL

Men of the community giving their labor

Under the conditions of pioneer life, if a church or a school-house or a dwelling were to be built, the men of the neighborhood were likely to join forces, going to the woods to cut the timber, hewing it into shape with their axes, and erecting the building by massing their labor. Under present-day conditions buildings are usually erected very differently. The materials are no longer produced from the neighboring forest, but from remote forests, mines, and quarries, and are transformed from the raw materials into suitable forms for building by a great variety of widely distributed industries. These products are assembled by various means of transportation

in distributing centers, whence they are finally brought to the building site. Many kinds of workers who are personally unknown to one another are engaged in these operations; and the building itself is constructed by a variety of specialized workers, such as carpenters, masons, painters, etc. This whole process, like that of producing the pair of shoes (page 20), is



PLAY SHED AND GYMNASIUM BUILT BY EIGHTH GRADE BOYS

Team work and leadership were necessary

made possible by the extremely complex *industrial organization* of the present time.

We need only to look around us to find examples in abundance of organized coöperation. Wherever a number of people have a strong interest in the same thing, they are likely to organize to promote it. Hence we find clubs and associations almost too numerous to mention. Men engaged in the same line of business or in the same profession organize, as in the case of grocers' associations, bankers' associations, medical associations, bar associations, teachers' associations, and trade unions of various kinds. Then there are organizations of men who are in different lines of business, but who have certain broad

interests in common, such as rotary clubs, chambers of commerce, merchants' and manufacturers' associations, and the like.

A church is an institution to enable people of the same religious faith to coöperate in religious matters. A public school provides the entire community with a means of coöperating for the education of the community's children (see page 40). In a small community there may be comparatively few people who can afford to buy a hundred books each year; but there might easily be a hundred persons who could buy one book each, and by some arrangement exchange with one another, so that each could in the course of a year have the use of a hundred books. Neighborhood clubs are sometimes organized to subscribe for magazines on this plan. A public library is a coöperative arrangement by which a great variety of good reading matter is made available to the entire community at trifling cost to each member. In fact, we may be able to draw books from the library without any cost to ourselves; but the books which we thus enjoy cost the community a large sum of money, and our free enjoyment of them is one of the advantages of community coöperation. Our part in the coöperation is in using the books carefully and in returning them promptly, so that as many people as possible may have the use of them.

**Church,
School and
Library**

If there is a public library in your community, what benefits do you get from it? About how many books do you draw from it in a year? What would these books cost you if you bought them? What do they cost when you draw them from the library?

Usually a fine is imposed for keeping a book from the library beyond a specified time. Show why this is proper.

If you or your parents are members of a church, make a study of the various ways in which the church provides for coöperation, and the purposes for which coöperation is sought.

Show how the community coöperates through the public school system.

Make a list of all the organizations of business and professional men and women known to you in your city. What are the specific purposes of each?

Make a list of such clubs, associations, or societies of men and women as



A PUBLIC LIBRARY IS A COÖPERATIVE ARRANGEMENT

occur to you in your city. Write the purposes of each opposite its name. To how many of these do members of your family belong?

Write the six great wants across the top of a page, as suggested in topic 2 on page 7, and arrange the lists of organizations suggested in the last two questions in the proper columns according to the wants they provide for.

Organization for coöperation is by no means confined to the city or other local community. People with common purposes organize for coöperation on a state-wide or nation-wide scale. Following is a list, taken from a city telephone directory, show-

ing a few of the many national organizations having offices in that city. This list is given not to be learned, of course, but merely to suggest the extent and variety of the evidence of national coöperation to be found in any large city.

- National Association of Manufacturers.
- National Board of Farm Organizations.
- National Civil Service Reform League.
- National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor.
- ↘ National Congress of Mothers.
- National Conservation Association.
- ↘ National Education Association.
- ↘ National Geographic Society.
- The National Grange.
- National League of Women Voters.
- National Merchant Marine Association.
- National News Service.
- ↘ National Red Cross.
- National Voters' League.
- ↘ American Association for the Advancement of Science.
- American Association of Engineers.
- ↘ American Civic Association.
- American Federation of Labor.
- American Forestry Association.
- ↘ American Recreation League.

In spite of all these local and national organizations, coöperation is far from complete either in our local or national communities. Although there is a National Conservation Association, for example, a very small number of the people of the United States actually belong to it, or even show any active interest in the conservation of our natural resources (see page 210). Under the stress of the great war, when the people were thoroughly aroused to the great issues at stake, national coöperation was secured with remarkable completeness. But when the perils of war were over, divergent interests began to reappear. Employers and employees are really engaged in the same enterprise and have great

Coöperation
imperfectly
developed

interests in common. But these are too often overshadowed by certain apparently opposing interests, leading to conflict where there ought to be the closest team work. In any city the people of one district may be entirely out of harmony with those of another district to the great disadvantage of both districts and of the city as a whole. Even in a school one or more of the "organizations" among the pupils may become so intent upon their narrow group interests as to obstruct the broader interests of the whole school.

The necessity for coöperation in the performance of a given service is not limited to the particular group held responsible for performing the service. In a certain school, **Who is responsible?** just before a football game, a large poster was displayed which read, "Do Not HOPE the Team Will Win; Come Out and HELP It Win!" The team was *the school's* team, and its success depended upon the support given it by the entire school. We noticed in Chapter II how the service given by the grocer depends in large measure on the coöperation he receives from his customers (page 19). The success of our army at the front during the war depended upon the *national morale*, and upon the support given it by every home and shop and farm in the country. A street railway system is usually pretty well organized; but no matter what measures it takes to insure service to the public, it cannot be completely successful without the coöperation of the public. For example, the service afforded at "rush hours" of traffic would be greatly improved if passengers would but observe the requests of the management to "move forward" and to "have exact fare ready" on entering the car. Failure to coöperate in such small matters delays the transportation service of an entire city.

Compile a list of ways in which the public may contribute to the improvement of the transportation service of the city. The telephone service. Other forms of "public service."

Coöperation is very largely a matter of habit; and habits can

be formed only by practice. Opportunity to practice coöperation exists not only in the school and on the playground, nor even merely in the neighborhood or city, where **Coöperation a matter of habit** there is always the opportunity to coöperate in the interest of public health, public safety, and public welfare generally, but even in national affairs. The war



"DO NOT *HOPE* WE'LL WIN; COME OUT AND *HELP* WIN!"

gave us a wonderful demonstration of the ability of Young America to perform service that counts in time of national need. Young citizens of school age contributed hundreds of millions of dollars to the service of the nation. This was done almost entirely by team work through such organizations as the Junior Red Cross, the Boy and Girl Scouts, the School Garden Army, Thrift Clubs, and the like, or through the organization of the school. The value of all this was not so much in the actual dollars raised or service performed as in the experience it gave in organized team work under leadership. Similar coöperation is always

possible and always necessary if our community life is to be at all successful.

To what organizations did you belong for war service? Do these organizations still exist? Are they as active as during the war? Have they turned to a "peace program"? Are you still an active member?



COÖPERATION IS NEEDED HERE

The service afforded at rush hours would be greatly improved if passengers would observe the requests of the management to "move forward" and to "have exact fare ready."

Describe the Boy Scouts, or the Girl Scouts, as an organization for team work. The Junior Red Cross.

Discuss the importance of leadership in school activities. What are the qualities that make a good leader?

Who are some of the best-known leaders in your city, both men and women? In what fields of public welfare are they leaders?

In what particular projects are you now engaged, along with others, for the benefit of your school? For the benefit of your city?

Make a list of projects in which you and others of your age might effectively participate for the benefit of your community. As you proceed with your study, add to this list.

What existing organizations are there through which you might work in carrying out these projects?

If there is no existing organization through which to work for any of these projects, plan a suitable organization to fill the need. Where would you look for suitable leadership?



TEAM WORK IN A GREAT CAUSE

"Every one who creates or cultivates a garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the feeding of the nations." — *Woodrow Wilson*.

READINGS

Civic Training through Service, Teachers' Leaflet No. 8, United States Bureau of Education.

Lessons in Community and National Life:

Series A: Lesson 1, Some fundamental aspects of social organization.

Lesson 3, The coöperation of specialists in modern society.

Lesson 7, Organization.

Lesson 8, The rise of machine industry.

Series B: Lesson 4, Feeding a city.

Lesson 25, Concentration of production in the meat-packing industry.

Lesson 26, Concentration in the marketing of citrus fruits.

Tufts, James H., *The Real Business of Living*, chaps. ii, iii, viii, xv, xvi.

Dunn, Arthur W., *Community Civics and Rural Life*, chap. iii.

Write to your State Agricultural College for its publications relating to the growth of rural coöperation.

A wide range of material relating to rural coöperation may be found in the publications of the United States Department of Agriculture. Write for material on this subject. The following titles are illustrative:

Organization of Rural Interests, Year Book Separate 626.

Organization of a Rural Community, Year Book Separate 632.

Farm Bureau Organization, States Relations Service Document 54.

County Organization, States Relations Service Document 65.

Coöperative Stores, Department of Agriculture Bulletin 394.

Coöperative Purchasing and Marketing Organizations, Department of Agriculture Bulletin 547.

Organization and Results of Boys' and Girls' Club Work, Department of Agriculture Circular 66.

Watch your newspapers and the magazines for illustrations of coöperation or the lack of it.

CHAPTER IV

WHY WE HAVE GOVERNMENT

WE are now in a better position to understand why we have government. It is an organization to secure coöperation, or team work, on the part of the entire community. When a schoolhouse is built, there is coöperation of a highly organized kind in the production and assembling of the materials and in the construction of the building by workmen of different kinds. But more than this, since the schoolhouse is a *public building*, the community coöperates in paying for it. This is done by means of *taxes*. The people pay taxes also to meet the cost of operating the school, — paying the teachers, buying equipment, and heating the building.

Government
a means
to secure
coöperation

In education

The community must know how much money is needed to operate the school, and the school must be properly managed to perform the community's work of education effectively. In small communities the people may meet together to vote the taxes and to decide on other matters relating to education, as in New England towns. But there must be educational leadership, and there must be an organization to perform the work which the community wants done. Every community therefore has its board of education, or school committee, its school superintendent, and other officials. Such organization corresponds very closely to the board of directors and manager of a business concern, only it represents the entire community and attends to the community's business of education. It is part of the community's governing machinery.

Ascertain from your father how much school tax he pays each year. If he does not know, try to find out elsewhere. Who determines the amount of this tax? To whom is it paid?

Could you employ a teacher at home for the amount your father pays as school tax? If you had a teacher at home, could you get as good an education as you can now get at school? Explain your answer.

In what ways do you coöperate with the community to make the school a success?



UNORGANIZED COÖPERATION

"When a building in a rural community takes fire, the neighbors gather as quickly as possible to fight the flames, but seldom very effectively."

When a building in a rural community takes fire, the neighbors gather as quickly as possible to fight the flames by such means as may be at hand, but seldom very effectively. **In fire**
In a small city or town, there may be a volunteer **protection**
fire company composed of men who, when a fire breaks out, leave their usual occupations to save the property. In large cities, fully equipped and costly fire departments are maintained, with paid firemen who are always on duty. The police usually keep the crowd away from the burning building, not

only for their own safety, but because they would hinder rather than help the trained and organized firemen. In each case there is coöperation for fire protection; the greater the common danger, the more perfect the organization and the more complete the control by government.



ORGANIZED COÖPERATION

"In cities fully equipped and costly fire departments with firemen who are always on duty. The police usually keep the crowd away."

In Benjamin Franklin's time, each householder in Philadelphia swept the pavement in front of his home if he wanted it kept **In health protection** clean. Franklin, who was a splendid example of good citizenship in that he was always looking for opportunities to improve his community, tells what happened :

One day I found a poor industrious man, who was willing to undertake keeping the pavement clean by sweeping it twice a week, carrying off the dirt from before all the neighbors' doors, for the sum of sixpence per month to



Courtesy American Magazine of Art

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

"A Splendid Example of Good Citizenship"

Statue by Paul Bartlett in front of Library, Waterbury, Conn.

be paid by each house. I then wrote and printed a paper setting forth the advantages to the neighborhood that might be obtained by this small expense. . . . I sent one of these papers to each house, and in a day or two went around to see who would subscribe an agreement to pay these six-pences; it was unanimously signed, and for a time well executed. This raised a general desire to have all the streets paved, and made the people more willing to submit to a tax for that purpose.

This was community coöperation under simple conditions. A hundred years later, the one and a half million people living in Philadelphia were just as truly coöperating to keep their city clean by means of more than 1200 miles of sewers for which they had paid nearly 35 millions of dollars, and by means of a department of highways and street-cleaning which employed a contractor to clean the streets and to remove all ashes and garbage at an annual cost of more than a million and a half dollars. This is all under the direction of the city government.

What is true of our local boards of education, fire and street-cleaning departments, and other departments of our local governments, is also true of state and national governments. We shall not stop for illustrations of this now, because they will be numerous in later chapters. (See, for example, Chapter XIX.)

Is there a government in your home? If so, prove whether or not it is a means by which the members of the family coöperate.

Describe the government of your school and show how it secures coöperation.

From a copy of Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*, find further instances in which he improved the coöperation of his community, as for fire protection and street lighting.

Show how street lights represent community coöperation. For what purpose is this form of coöperation?

Give additional illustrations to prove that government in your community is a means of coöperation.

In what ways can you coöperate with the school board of your community, and thus with the community itself, for better schools?

A number of boys whose lives were spent mostly in the city streets were once asked what the word "government" suggested to them. Some of them at once answered, "The policeman!" and when they were asked, "Why?" they replied, "He arrests people," "He makes us keep off the grass in the parks," "He drives us off when we play ball in vacant lots." These answers represent a common idea about government, that it is something over us to restrict our freedom. Government does

restrict the freedom of individuals at times; but one of the best illustrations of its real purpose is the traffic policeman in cities. He stands at the crossing of busy streets, regulating the movement of people and vehicles in such a way as to insure the safety of all and to keep the intersecting streams of traffic moving smoothly and with as little interruption as possible. Now and

Government
to help
and not to
repress



MOUNTED TRAFFIC POLICEMAN AT WORK

"If now and then he arrests a driver, it is because the latter disregards the rights of others."

then he leaves his post to help a child or an aged person or a cripple across the street; or answers the inquiries of a stranger. If now and then he arrests a driver, it is because the latter disregards the rights or welfare of others.

There may be no traffic policeman; but there may be signs at the intersection of highways to guide travelers, or warnings such as "Dangerous Curve!" or "School: Drive Slowly!" Such signs are usually posted by state or local authorities in accordance with *law*. And even where there are no signs, the laws

themselves are supposed to regulate traffic. Some one has compared the laws in our country to the signals given to a football team by the quarterback. These signals are agreed upon in advance by the team, and tell each player not only what he himself, but also what every other player, is to do, and thus team work is secured. And so our

**Laws as
signals of
coöperation**

laws are said to be "signals of coöperation," just as much as the sign "Drive Slowly," or as when the traffic policeman holds up his hand or blows his whistle.



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"THE SIGNAL FOR COÖPERATION IN A
CITY STREET"
(Traffic Policeman)

Laws, however, are more than "signals" of coöperation; they are also *rules* by which coöperation is secured — "rules of the game." Wherever people are dependent upon one another and work together there must be rules of conduct. One kind of rules consists of what we call "etiquette" or "good

manners." We have doubtless all observed how much better an athletic contest moves along, or even the ordinary sports of the playground, where good manners prevail. "Good manners" include more than the "party manners" that we put on and take off on special occasions, like "party clothes." They consist of the accepted

**Laws as
rules of
the game**

rules of behavior toward those with whom we associate. In the home, in school, in business, in public places, there are "good manners" that are recognized by custom and that make the wheels move smoothly and without jar. We do not need a law or a policeman to require a man to give way to a woman, or even to another man, in passing through a



"RULES OF THE GAME"

The pupils of this school coöperate effectively in preventing accidents on this corner.

doorway; good manners provide for this. Even on the public street much confusion is avoided by an observance of good manners, or *custom*. Thoughtful people instinctively turn to the right in passing others (in England and Canada the custom is to turn to the left) without thinking whether there is a law on the subject or not.

Now most of our laws that regulate the conduct of individuals are simply rules that experience has proved to be of the greatest advantage to the greatest number, and that are necessary because *some* people have not "good manners."

Most people observe them, not because they are laws, but because they are reasonable and helpful in avoiding friction and in securing coöperation. If they are good laws, **Law gives freedom** it is only the "ill-mannered" who are really conscious of their existence. Just laws restrict the freedom only of the "ill-mannered," while they *give* freedom to those who have "good manners."

What street or highway signs are there in your community? Who placed them? Are they faithfully observed? If not, why?

What signals are there in your school? Discuss their usefulness.

What are some of the "rules" of your school? Are they good rules? Why? Are they an advantage or a disadvantage to yourself? If they did not exist, would your own conduct be different? Why?

What are some of the rules of good manners that are supposed to control conduct in your school? in your home? in the street? Discuss their reasonableness. Do they enlarge or restrict freedom?

Do the rules of football, or other games, increase or decrease the freedom of play?

What are some of the laws that control conduct in your community? Would most people observe the laws you mention even if they were no written laws, and if there were no penalty for failing to observe them? Why?

The following story illustrates the difference between law and custom, or "manners," and how the former may develop out of the latter.¹ There was once a boys' school **The origin of law** located in an 800-acre tract of land, in the fields and woods of which the boys, when free from their studies, gathered nuts, trapped small animals, and otherwise lived much like primitive hunters.

Just after midnight some morning early in October, when the first frosts of the season loosened the grasp of the nuts upon the limbs, parties of two or three boys might be seen rushing at full speed over the wet fields. When

¹ "Rudimentary Society among Boys," by John Johnson, in Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, vol. ii (1884). The story as here given is reproduced from *Lessons in Community and National Life*, Series C, p. 145, U. S. Bureau of Education (Lesson C-18, "Coöperation through Law," by Arthur W. Dunn).

the swiftest party reached a walnut tree, one of the number climbed up rapidly, shook off half a bushel of nuts and scrambled down again. Then off the boys went to the next tree, where the process was repeated unless the tree was occupied by other boys doing likewise. Nut hunters coming to the tree after the first party had been there, and wishing to shake the tree some more, were required by custom to pile up all the nuts that lay under the tree. Until this was done, the unwritten law did not permit their shaking any more nuts on the ground.

So far this was a *custom* accepted by the boys because of its reasonableness. But after a while, some members of this boy community thought to get ahead of the other members. One night before frost came they secretly went to the woods and took possession of most of the nut trees by shaking them according to custom. When this was discovered, some of the leaders of the community *called a meeting* of all the boys. After discussing the matter thoroughly, they provided against a repetition of the trick by *making a rule* (passing a law) that thereafter the harvesting of nuts should not begin before a fixed date in October.

These boys acted very much as men have often acted under simple conditions of community life. The New England "town meeting," for example, is precisely the same thing as the boys' meeting.

We shall study the organization and methods of law-making in later chapters. At present we are merely noting *why* we have laws, and the fact that they are supposed to be made, directly or indirectly, by the people themselves. And right here we see the second thing necessary to make a *democracy*. On page 9 we saw that in a democracy all people have certain equal and "unalienable" rights, and that that community is most democratic that affords its members most nearly equal opportunity to enjoy these rights. Now we see further that in a democracy the people make their own laws. Moreover, the laws of a democracy control, not only the conduct of

The second
element in
democracy:
control by
the people

the people, but also the government itself. The government of a democracy may do only those things, and use only those methods, for which the people give the authority. It is only when government exercises power without control by the people that it becomes autocratic.

The purpose of our government is clearly stated in two historic documents. One of these is the Declaration of Independence, which has already been quoted in Chapter I. The same quotation is given here with an additional sentence in italics:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, *to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.* . . .

The second great document is the Constitution of the United States, the preamble to which reads:

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

It is not to be supposed that our government and our laws are perfect. They cannot be perfect as long as they are made and operated by imperfect people. It is possible, for example, that the boys of the city (p. 44) had a just complaint against the government for not permitting them to play ball in vacant lots, *unless the community at the same time provided them with another suitable place for the game*—for every community should protect the right of its boys and girls to play. We are far from having attained complete democracy. It is a goal toward which men are struggling, and have been struggling for centuries—since long before our Revolutionary War, and in other countries as well as in our own. The great World War which

Democracy a goal still to be reached



Courtesy American Magazine of Art

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Author of the Declaration of Independence
Statue at the University of Virginia. By Karl Bitter

began in 1914, and which the United States entered in 1917, was a war to establish more firmly in the world the principles of democratic government. Whether these principles shall be carried out in practice, and whether our governments — local, state, and national — shall fulfill the purposes so clearly stated

in the preamble to the Constitution, depends upon the extent to which each citizen understands these purposes, and coöperates with his fellow-citizens and with his government in support of them.

It is said that in one of the training camps during the war The "right idea of it" an officer addressed a squad of new recruits as follows:

Boys, I want you to get the right idea of the salute. I do not want you to think that you are being compelled to salute me as an individual. No! When you salute me, you are simply rendering respect to the power I represent; *and the power I represent is you.* Now let me explain. You elect the President of the United States, and the President of the United States grants me a commission to represent his authority in this army. His only authority is the authority that you vest in him when you elect him President. Now, when you salute an officer, you salute not the man, but the representative of your own authority. The salute is going to be rigidly enforced in this army, and I want you boys to get the right idea of it. I want you to know what you salute and why.

It is very important that we should "get the right idea" of what our government is. It is very much the idea that the officer gave his soldiers about the salute. It is the idea contained in this chapter: that government is our own organization for team work in community life. All through this book we shall be engaged in discovering how far this is true.

Do you know of instances in which the national government has helped to secure coöperation among business men of your city?

Discuss the post office as a means of coöperation.

During the war with Germany the United States government assumed control of all the railroads of the country. Show how this was to secure better coöperation.

Is the government of your school democratic? Explain your answer. Do you think it should be made more democratic? Why?

Compare the purposes stated in the preamble to the Constitution with the common purposes stated on pages 2-6 of Chapter I.

Show how the pupil who does as he pleases in school may interfere with the rights and liberties of other pupils. Is it right that his liberty should then be restricted? Why? Is liberty the right to do as one pleases? If not, what is it?

Read together in class the preamble to the Constitution and carefully discuss the meaning of each phrase.

Just what is the meaning of the last sentence of the paragraph from the Declaration of Independence quoted on page 50?

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life:

Series B: Lesson 17, The development of a system of laws.

Series C: Lesson 17, Custom as a basis for law.

Lesson 18, Cooperation through law.

In Long's American Patriotic Prose:

Lincoln, "Mob Law," pp. 175-177.

Lincoln, "Back to the Declaration," pp. 179-181.

McKinley, "Liberty is Responsibility, Not License," pp. 254-255.

The Declaration of Independence, pp. 67-71.

Beard, Chas. A., *American Citizenship*, chap. i ("The Nature of Modern Government").

Franklin, Benjamin, *Autobiography*.

CHAPTER V

WHAT IS CITIZENSHIP?

BEFORE we go further, let us get a definite idea of what it means to be a citizen.

We have frequently referred to the fact that we are "members" of communities. There are two important facts about a

What membership means "member" which will help us to understand citizenship. Our bodies have members; the tongue has been called an "unruly" member, "a little member and boasteth great things."¹ Now, one important fact about a member of the body is *that it gets its life from the body*. The hand, for example, quickly ceases to be a hand if it is cut off,

In the body because it is severed from the source of life; and if the body is seriously ill, the hand and the other members are unable to perform their proper work.

The second important fact about a member is *that it is essential to the life of the body*. If the hand is cut off, or an eye put out, the body does not necessarily die, but it is seriously handicapped. If a member is paralyzed or diseased it may be a positive hindrance to the body, and the disease may spread to other members. The body may suffer merely because its members are poorly trained.

This, then, is what membership in the body means. Membership in a family, or in a class, or in a school, or in a club, or in a

In the community community, means just the same thing. The two facts mentioned above are as true in the one case as in the other.

¹ James iii: 5.

Explain how the idea of membership as applied to the body applies to your membership in the family; to membership in a club; in a church; in a business establishment.

Can you be a member of your class or school without doing it either good or harm? Explain your answer.

Read *Romans* xii: 4-8 and *James* iii: 5-8.

Show how an injury or a benefit to one pupil in the school may be an injury or a benefit to the entire school. Give illustrations to prove this.



CITIZENS IN TRAINING

"I pledge allegiance to my Flag and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Show how this idea of membership corresponds with the idea of interdependence as discussed in Chapter II.

We have already seen, and we shall see more clearly as we go on with our study, how completely we are dependent upon our communities for the wants of life. The community that does not provide for its members in these things is like a sick body. On the other hand, as members of a community we are always contributing something to its life — either to its advantage or

disadvantage. Of course, each of us is only one of a great many members in a large community, and we may seem to be very unimportant. But each performs his part, whether it be great or small, and whether he does it well or poorly.

Now we often speak of members of a community as *citizens* of that community. *Citizenship* means practically the same thing as membership in the community. As a **Citizenship means membership** good community is one that provides well for its members, so the good citizen is the member who does well his part in the life of the community. A bad citizen is the member who hinders the progress of the community when he might be helping.

There are citizens who are like the diseased or paralyzed hand, or like the hand that is untrained. A member of an athletic **Trained and untrained citizens** team who does not "train" will probably be dropped from the team — he fails to become an athlete. But a member of a community, or a citizen, who does not "train" still remains a member, but an inefficient one. He is a handicap to his community and interferes with community team work. The part that a member plays in community life may be more important than he realizes. Even in small things, "the falling short of one may mean disaster to many." Each member of a community, like each member of a body, must be not only in a healthy condition but also well trained.

The most important element in good citizenship, or in patriotism, is *the spirit of service*, — service for the common **The spirit of service** good. Patriotism usually suggests a willingness to give life, or to make other great sacrifice, for the country's good. It does involve this at times. But it is equally true that even *our normal, everyday, community life is based on an exchange of services*, just as the hand serves the eye, and the eye serves the hand, and both together serve the entire body and all its other members. Even earning a living means earning

the services of other people by the performance of services for them (see Chapter XVI). The patriotic citizen is one whose conduct at all times is controlled by the thought of the service he may render rather than by the thought of selfish advantage. At the same time, we need to be "infected with wisdom to



AN EXCHANGE OF SERVICE

know that in making smooth the way of all lies the road to our own health and happiness.”¹

Citizenship involves certain *rights* and certain *duties*. We might give a long list of the duties of the citizen. Among other things we might say that it is his duty to obey the laws, and to defend his country in time of peril. It is a citizen's duty to vote (when he has the right to do so), to pay taxes, to hold office, and to serve on the jury when called upon to do so. But the whole matter may be summed up

**Rights and
duties of
citizenship**

¹ John Galsworthy, in *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1920.

in the statement that the citizen's duty is always to render the full measure of service that his membership in the community demands at any given time.

We may say, also, that a citizen has duties because he has rights. That is, it is his duty to serve because he is served.

Civil rights A citizen's rights are classified under two heads: *civil* rights and *political* rights, or *private* rights and *public* rights. Under the head of civil or private rights are included the right to security of the person; the right to freedom of religious belief and worship; the right to freedom of speech; the right to assemble freely; the right to a speedy and fair trial when brought before a court on charges of any kind; and the right to security in his own property. These rights are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and by the constitutions of the several states, and are summed up in the phrase "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." They are embraced in the list of rights, purposes, or wants, described in Chapter I.

Political rights, on the other hand, are rights *given* to the citizen by the community under certain conditions. Such are the right to vote and the right to hold office. These **Political rights** rights (and duties) will be discussed later in our course, but they are rights not possessed by all citizens.

Citizenship is acquired in two ways which are specified in the Constitution of the United States (Amendment XIV, Section 1): "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof" (that is, subject to its laws) "are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." "Naturalization" is the legal process by which persons of foreign birth renounce their allegiance to the land of their birth and pledge allegiance to our government. Until they do this such persons, even though living in our country, are still considered as "members" of the country from which they came, and therefore as owing

certain duties to that country which would be inconsistent with their duties as members of our nation. Therefore they are denied certain *political* rights, such as voting and holding office,¹ until they have been naturalized. Our country is, however, very generous to aliens (persons of foreign birth who have not



ALIENS APPLYING FOR NATURALIZATION

been naturalized), so that they are permitted to enjoy almost all the civil rights of native-born Americans. This fact imposes upon such persons an obligation, not merely to respect our laws, but also to conduct themselves with full regard for the interests of our nation, in all respects as if they were citizens. They are like guests in our home, of whom we should think very poorly if they abused the hospitality freely bestowed upon them.

¹ In a few states even unnaturalized persons are permitted to vote after they have "declared their intention" of becoming citizens.

Let us note particularly, however, that "*all persons born in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are* **Present** citizens." Native-born citizens are denied *political* **citizenship** rights until they reach maturity. But they cannot be denied their citizenship. Young citizens need to keep in



ADULT FOREIGNERS PREPARING FOR AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Note the Service Flag of this class

mind the fact of their *present* citizenship — a fact that is too often overlooked. Civic education is not merely training *for* citizenship sometime in the future, but training *in* citizenship now.

Make a list of things you have done during the week for the benefit of your school; for the welfare of your neighborhood, or city. Do you do as much for your family, school, or community as they do for you?

Turn to Amendment XIV of the Constitution of the United States (page 488), and read the entire first section containing the definition of a citizen. Discuss the meaning of the section.

At what age does the native-born citizen acquire the right to vote? Why is he not allowed to vote before that time?

What native-born citizens of the United States do not have the right to vote even after they are of voting age?

Look up the procedure of naturalization (see Readings below).

What is the reason for the provision that a foreigner must have lived in this country for at least five years before he may receive his final naturalization papers?



COMMITTEE ON SAFETY IN SESSION

"Civic education is not merely training *for* citizenship, but training *in* citizenship *now*."

READINGS

In Long's *American Patriotic Prose*:

Doane, "The Men to Make a State," pp. 236-238.

Lane, "Makers of the Flag," pp. 314-316.

Steiner, "On Becoming an American Citizen," pp. 317-320.

Wilson, "To Newly-Made Citizens," pp. 322-326.

Tufts, James H., *The Real Business of Living*, chaps. xi, xii.

Write to the Bureau of Naturalization, U. S. Department of Labor, for publications relating to *Naturalization*.

CHAPTER VI

WHAT IS OUR COMMUNITY?

WE have frequently referred to "our community." As a matter of fact, each of us is a member of a number of communities. Every community consists, of course, of a **Elements that make a community** *group of people* occupying a more or less *definite locality*. Much depends, in community life, upon the number and character of the people and the extent and nature of the locality they occupy. But the essential thing about a community is that the people who comprise it are *working together* (coöperating) under an *organization* (government) for the *common good* (common purposes).

The community may be a city, with a large population in proportion to the area occupied. It may be a community in which a relatively small population is distributed over an extensive territory. Each state in our Union is a community, and so is the nation itself, because each is composed of a group of people (very large in these cases), occupying a definite territory (also large), and having a government through which the people are working for common ends. We even speak of a "world community," although it is, as yet, very imperfect (see Chapter VIII). It is clear that each of us is a member, not only of our city community, but also of state, national, and world communities. It is clear, also, that the larger communities are made up of many smaller communities.

Does your class have the characteristics of a community? Your school? Note how the class communities are combined into the larger school community. Compare with the union of our states in the nation.



A VILLAGE COMMUNITY. — KNOXBORO, N.Y.



A CITY COMMUNITY. — BALTIMORE, Md.

Does your home have the characteristics of a community? Explain in detail.

What are some of the things in which your family and your nearest neighbors have a common interest because of living close together? What does the "neighborhood" lack to make it a complete "community"?

How smaller communities are merged into larger ones may be illustrated by the case of New York City. That city is composed of five "boroughs" — Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond. Each of these **Small communities merge into larger ones** has a government for certain local purposes, but all are united under a single government for the City of Greater New York. Moreover, New York City has adjoining it a number of other cities, such as Newark, N.J., and Yonkers, N.Y., all of which have their own governments, but which taken together constitute a "metropolitan area" which possesses many, at least, of the characteristics of a community. A large part of the population whose business interests are in New York City lives in these adjacent "suburbs."

Detroit, Michigan, affords another striking example. This city has grown with great rapidity in the last few years, and in 1920 its population of nearly a million has entirely surrounded that of two other cities (Highland Park and Hamtramck). While these two communities still have independent governments, they are to all intents and purposes a part of Detroit, and will sooner or later, in all probability, be merged with it under one government.

Every large city has its "suburbs." Sometimes these are purely residential, their residents having their business interests in the city. • Sometimes they are industrial centers **Suburban communities** with very few homes except those of employees of the factories. In some cases they are within the city limits, while in other cases they are outside and independently governed. But while a suburb may be a community in itself, with interests of its own, it is also bound to the city by certain common

interests, and as city and suburbs grow, the tendency is for the latter to be absorbed by the former under a single government.

With the help of a map of your city, study the location of its "suburbs," naming each.

Which, if any, of these suburbs have their own governments, and which come under the government of the city?

Find out whether any parts of your city, now under the city government, once had independent governments. If so, what reasons led to their incorporation in the city?

If there has recently been a proposal to extend the limits of your city to include hitherto independent suburbs, what arguments were made for and against the proposal?

If you live in a community adjacent to a city, but independent of its government, debate the question, "Resolved, that our community (naming it) should be incorporated in the city of . . . (naming the adjacent city)."

To what extent, if any, has the increase in the population of your city in recent years been due to the extension of the city limits to include adjacent suburbs? On a map of the city show the old and new city limits.

What is the population of your city (census of 1920)? Compare with the population of 1910 and 1900.

If a city business man has his home in a suburban community, what are some of the things pertaining to the welfare of that community in which he would have a special interest? What are some of the things pertaining to the welfare of the entire city in which he would be interested?

In the case of such a suburban family, which would be likely to have the keenest interest in the affairs of the suburb, the father or the mother? Why? Where would the chief interests of the children be, in the suburb or in the city as a whole? Why?

If some of the children of the suburban home go to school in the city, in what things would they have an interest in common with the residents of the city?

If you live in a suburban community, make a list of things in which it is especially interested. Also make a list of things in which your suburban community is interested in common with the people of other suburbs.

If we leave our city by railroad or automobile, we soon find ourselves passing through other, smaller communities — first, suburban communities, then rural communities, with much open country, and an occasional village or small town. Such communities seem to be no part of the city which we have left

Interdependence of city and rural communities

behind, and to a large extent they do have interests peculiar to themselves, centering largely around farming activities and a social life quite different from that of the city folk. But in many ways the city and the surrounding country, with its numerous rural communities and small towns, are bound together into a single community with large common interests and purposes. City resident and farmer alike are members of



PUBLIC FARMERS' MARKET

City residents and farmers alike are members of this community

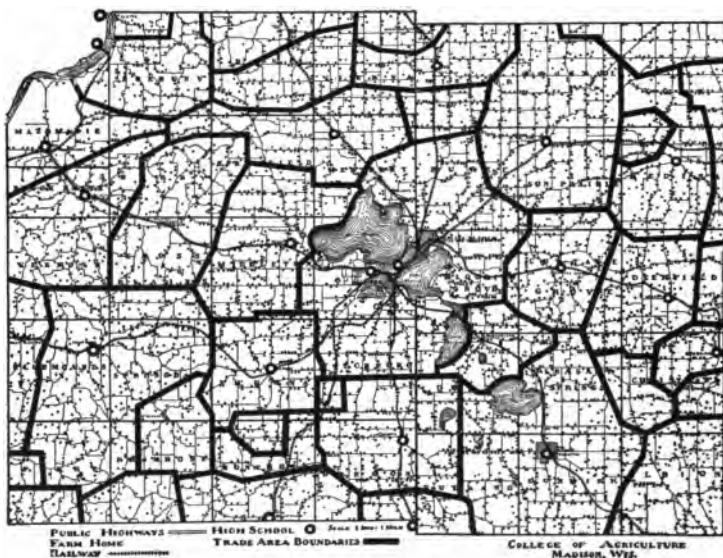
this community, and neither can afford to forget his dependence upon, and his interest in, the other.

In the early days of western settlement a community was founded in Illinois. It was an agricultural community, but in the midst of it a village grew, which in the course of time became a small city. One of the first settlers was a young farmer with

a mechanical turn of mind. He began experimenting to improve the methods of planting grain. The result was the invention of a corn planter, the manufacture of which became one of the chief industries of the growing city, employing hundreds of men and sending machines to all parts of the world. Another young farmer invented a better plow than those which had been in use, the manufacture of which became another of the city's industries. In those pioneer days each family usually made its own brooms, but one young man in this community earned his way through the local college by making brooms from corn raised on the college farm. The college cornfield disappeared in the course of time, but on one part of it there grew up a broom factory employing a large number of workmen. These city industries were thus literally "children of the soil," and the city's prosperity depended upon the agriculture of the surrounding region. On the other hand, the city provided the farmers with improved plows and corn planters, furnished them an immediate market for their products, supplied them with goods through its shops and stores, and gave education to hundreds of farmers' children in its schools and college. It is now a city of 25,000 population, but it is still the heart of the surrounding agricultural region, receiving from and giving to the life of the larger community so created.

A study of the accompanying map of Dane County, Wisconsin, will help to emphasize this idea. The most conspicuous thing in the map is the heavy black lines which divide **Dane County,** the county into irregular areas. These are "trade **Wis., an** areas," in each of which is a "trading center," **illustration** consisting of a village or small town. Each of these "trade areas" is an incompletely developed "rural community," with a village or town community at its center. If the "trading center" is also a center of education, recreation, social and religious life for the area, as is likely to be the case, the "rural community" is more completely developed.

It will be noticed that the irregular boundary lines of the trade areas "cut across" the regular "township" boundary lines, which the map also shows, and even across the county lines. Township and county are governmental districts (see Chapter XXV) which were fixed before population was very great, and do not always coincide with the areas of population which represent the closest common interests. That is, a farmer's family, represented by one of the small dots on the map, is bound by ties of government to all the other people in his township, while his real interests, such as in trade,



THE CITY OF MADISON AND DANE COUNTY, WISCONSIN

education for his children, social life, etc., may bind him to people who live in other townships, while they fail to bind him closely to all the people in his own township. This merely illustrates the imperfections still to be found in our community life (see page 2). Where townships have *natural* boundaries, they are likely to be more nearly *complete* communities.

In the center of Dane County is the city of Madison with a population of nearly 40,000. It also is a "trading center" in a "trade area." Moreover, it is the *county seat* of Dane County,

and the *capital* of the state of Wisconsin. An examination of the map will show roads and railroads centering in the city from all parts of the county and state.

Thus even a large city may have decided rural interests and be part of a larger community that is distinctly rural in its foundations. A business man of Memphis, Tenn. (pop. 162,000), said, "Memphis cannot build a wall around herself and live for thirty days," so intimately is the life of the city interwoven with the life of the surrounding region, known as the "Memphis Territory."

The "Mem-
phis Terri-
tory"



WICHITA FALLS, TEXAS

This city grew from a population of 8500 in 1910 to a population of 45,000 in 1920

It too often happens that the interdependence between urban and rural communities, and the resulting community of interests between them, are overlooked both by urban and rural citizens. Sometimes jealousies and antagonisms arise to the injury of all concerned.

Failure to see
common
interests

How much better is a situation like that said to exist in Christian County, Ky. This county is almost wholly agricultural,

but the county seat is a small city of 10,000 population. A business men's association was organized in the city, which interested itself in bettering the agricultural conditions of the county, because the business of the city was very dependent upon the neighboring agriculture. A "crop improvement association" was formed, including farmers in its membership. Local community clubs were organized in different parts of the county, which held meetings attended by the farmers and their families, and by business men from the city. A good roads association was organized, and a "good roads day" was held on which

business men turned out with the farmers, stores of the city were closed, and on one of the principal roads at least 90 per cent of the workmen were city men. Stone was contributed by contractors, concrete firms furnished men gratis to repair bridges, one company supplied outfits for trimming trees and a large amount of work was done by the county and town working side by side. . . . Such results could only be accomplished through unity of purpose and coöperation of all the people.

It is said of this county that "the town and the county are one. The result is better agriculture, better business, and better living."

On a map roughly outline the area of which your city is a "trade center." Does this require a map of your county, of your state, or of a larger region?

For what area is New York City a trade center? Chicago? New Orleans? San Francisco? London?

Mention some of the ways in which your city is dependent upon nearby rural communities. Also some ways in which these rural communities are dependent upon your city.

To what extent is there team work between your city and neighboring rural communities or smaller cities? Is there any noticeable lack of such team work? If so, what are the causes?

What industries in your city are dependent upon the surrounding region for their raw material? For the sale of their products?

Has farm land in your vicinity increased or decreased in value since your father was a boy? Has there been any considerable increase or decrease since you can remember? Can you show a relation between this change in value of farm land and the growth of your city?



BROOKLYN BRIDGE AND THE LOWER PART OF NEW YORK CITY
The problems of community life presented by the city affect the entire nation

What is the cotton gin? The spinning jenny? Show how these inventions were a benefit to agriculture. How did they promote the growth of cities?

As cities and towns and rural communities are welded together into a community we call the county, so all those of a number of counties constitute a state community of which each of us is a member. As parts of the larger state community, all of the smaller local communities, whether urban or rural, are closely dependent upon one another, and require organized coöperation through a state government. The state is the most completely self-governing of all the communities of which we are members, as will be explained in another chapter (XXVII). The people of a state have strong common interests, and as a rule feel a pride in their state, and a loyalty to it, that lie deeper than their pride in, or their loyalty to, any of the smaller communities of which they are members. And yet, no state can be in a thriving condition unless the cities and rural communities, the counties and townships, which comprise it are also thriving and wholesome in every particular. The fact is sometimes overlooked that the first and most effective way in which to show loyalty to the state is to take pride in, and be loyal to, the smaller communities which comprise it and of which all citizens of the state are members. Much of the service that the state performs for its citizens, and much of that which they perform for the state, is performed through the organization of the local communities, as will be explained more fully in another place.

What are some of the interests common to all the people of your state for which they need to coöperate?

Have you noticed that the people in your community have a strong "state pride"? If so, what are the things of which they are proud?

Discuss the statement in the last paragraph that "the most effective way in which to show loyalty to the state is to be loyal to the smaller community" of which you are a member.

If there is a very large city in your state, show its importance to the whole state. Show its dependence upon the whole state.

Can a state extend its boundaries as a city can? Why?

What is the capital of your state? What does "capital" mean?

The forty-eight states of our Union, together with Alaska and our insular territories and dependencies, constitute our great national community. So important is it for us to recognize the community characteristics of our national community that the entire next chapter is devoted to its consideration.

The problems of community life presented by the city we live in are not merely local problems, but of national importance. The city population of the United States has increased with great rapidity in the last few years. The number of cities with a population of more than 10,000 has increased from 328 in 1900 to 759 in 1920, while the population of such cities about doubled in the same period. In 1920, there were 68 cities of more than 100,000 population, as compared with 44 in 1910 and 34 in 1900; and in such cities lived approximately one fourth of the population of the United States in 1920. The aggregation of so large a part of our total population in cities has created problems of health, of education, of industry, of transportation, of every phase of life, that affect the entire nation.

Moreover, the growth of city population has brought new problems to the rural portions of the nation. A considerable part of the increase in city population has come from the rural districts. While the rural population has increased also, the city population has increased more rapidly. One result of this is that not only are there more people in the cities for whom food must be produced in the country, but there are also relatively fewer food producers to do the work. In many other ways, some of which we shall note from time to time, the growth of cities affects the life of rural America.

What proportion of the population of your state lives in cities of 10,000 or more? How many such cities are there in your state? What has been the increase in the number and population of such cities in your state since 1900?

In the *Literary Digest* of September 18, 1920, there is an article under the title "Doubtful Good of our City Growth." From what is said in the paragraphs above, to what may this article refer? If possible, read the article.

If your city has grown rapidly during the last few years, in what ways has this growth made life more difficult? Can you see ways in which the new problems arising from this growth might affect the nation?

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CHAPTER VII

OUR NATIONAL COMMUNITY

It is important to get the habit of thinking of our nation as a community, just as we think of our school or town or city as one. This is not always easy to do because of its huge size and complicated character. It would be wrong, too, to get the idea that it is a perfect community — none of our communities is perfect.

Imperfections
of our
national
community

Conflicts of interest are often more apparent than community of interest. Team work among the different parts and groups that make up our nation is often very poor. Although our government is a wonderfully good one, it is still only an imperfect means of coöperation. Our nation is far from being a complete democracy, for there are many people in it who do not have the full enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and large numbers of our "self-governing" people really have little or no part in government.

It need not give us an unpatriotic feeling to acknowledge the imperfections of our nation or of our government; for communities *grow*, not only in size, but also in ability to perform their proper work, just as individuals do. We call a person conceited who thinks that he is perfect, especially if he boasts of it. But his conceit is itself an imperfection and a hindrance to growth. So the patriotic citizen is not one who is unable to see defects in his community, or who refuses to acknowledge them, but one who has high *civic ideals* and is loyal to them, who understands in what respects these ideals have not been reached, and who, as a member of the

Loyalty
to ideals

community (see page 54), contributes everything he can to keep it growing in *the right direction*.

"The problem of government is after all the problem of human growth. . . . The one constant and inconstant quantity with which man must deal is man — changing, inert, impulsive, limited, sympathetic, selfish, aspiring man. His institutions, whether social or political, must come out



A VIEW OF OUR NATIONAL CAPITAL

of his wants and out of his capacities. Luther Burbank has not yet made grapes to grow on thorns or figs on thistles. Neither has any system of government made all men wise. . . ." — FRANKLIN K. LANE.

Is it possible for a community to be 100 per cent perfect? Why?

What people in your community have no part in government?

May people who cannot vote have any influence upon government? Explain.

Has a good citizen a right to criticize his government? What is the difference between helpful and harmful criticism?

What is an "ideal"? a "civic ideal"?

The war with Germany made it somewhat easier to think of our nation as a community, because it served to arouse our "national spirit," and showed very clearly the importance in our national life of those elements which characterize all community life — common purpose, interdependence, and organized coöperation (see Chapters I-III). The creation of a National Army did much to bring this about.

Welding of
the nation
by war



IMMIGRANTS FROM OTHER LANDS

Landing at Ellis Island, New York Harbor

When the benefits which come to the nation through the creation of the national army are catalogued, the fact that it has welded the country into a homogeneous society,¹ seeking the same national ends and animated by the same national ideals, will overtop all other advantages. The organization of the selected Army fuses the thousand separate elements making up the United States into one steelhard mass. Men of the North, South, East, and West meet and mingle, and on the anvil of war become citizens worthy of the liberty won by the first American armies.²

¹ "Homogeneous society" — a society or community all of whose parts and members have like purposes and interests.

² Major Granville R. Fortesque, in *National Geographic Magazine*, Dec., 1917.

How this welding of the parts of the nation together was promoted by the war is suggested by the words of an old Confederate soldier who wrote to a friend in the North :

"During the war between the states I was a rebel, and continued one in heart until this great war. But now I am a devoted follower of Uncle Sam and endorse him in every respect."

The fact that our nation contained in its population large numbers of people from practically every country of Europe caused no little anxiety when we entered the European war. Our population embraces a hundred different races and nationalities. Of these ten million are negroes and three hundred thirty-six thousand Indians. Thirty-three million are of foreign parentage, and of these thirteen million are foreign-born. Five million do not speak English, and there are fifteen hundred newspapers in the United States printed in foreign languages. Five and one half million above the age of ten years, including both foreign and native, cannot read nor write in any language. New York City has a larger Hebrew population than any other city in the world, contains more Italians than Rome, and its German population is the fourth largest among the cities of the world. Pittsburgh has more Serbs than the capital of Serbia. It is said that there were more Greeks subject to draft in the American army than there were in the entire army of Greece. Would all these people be loyal to our nation, or would they divide it against itself?

The war in fact showed us that there were some among us who had never really become "members" of our nation (see page 54), and who were dangerous to our peace and safety. It also showed us the danger that comes from the presence of so many illiterates, or of those who cannot use the English language; for such people, even though loyal in spirit to the United States, cannot understand instructions either in the army or in industry, and otherwise

**Diverse
elements in
our nation**

**Loyalty of
diverse
elements**

prevent effective coöperation. And yet the most striking thing that the war showed us in regard to this mixed population is that the great mass of it, regardless of color or place of birth, is really American in spirit and loyal to our flag and the ideas which it represents.



FORTY-FOUR NATIONALITIES — ALL AMERICANS

Another weakness within our nation that the war emphasized is the lack of harmony between wage earners and their employers. There were many sharp conflicts between them. Strikes occurred, or were threatened, in factories, shipyards, mines, and railroads, that blocked the wheels of industry at a time when the nation needed to strain every nerve to provide the materials of war. This lack of harmony between workmen and employers, which in war threatened our national safety, has existed for many years and has always been an obstacle to national progress. But the common purpose of winning the war caused employers and wage earners, in most cases, to

**National
safety
depends on
harmony**

adjust their differences. In nearly every case one side or the other, or both sides, yielded certain points and agreed not to dispute over others, at least for the period of the war. The national government did much to bring this about by the creation of labor adjustment boards to hear complaints from either side and to settle disputes. If our national community life is to develop in a wholesome way, complete coöperation between workmen and employers must be secured and made permanent on the basis of interests that are common to both.

Such facts as these show how easy it is, in a huge, complex community like our nation, for conflicts to arise among different

**The effect of
a common
purpose**

sections and groups of the population; and how difficult it is always to see the common interests that exist. But they also show how such conflicts tend to disappear when a situation arises which forces us to think of the common interests instead of the differences. All else was forgotten in the common purpose to "win the war." No sacrifice was too great on the part of any individual in order that this national purpose might be served. Everywhere throughout the country, in cities and in remote rural districts, service flags in the windows testified that the homes of the land were offering members that the nation and its ideals might live. Men, women, and even children contributed their work and their savings and denied themselves customary comforts to help win the war. *The entire nation was working together for a common purpose.*

We have said that this common purpose was to "win the war." But there were purposes that lie much deeper than

**Our national
purpose**

this, without which it would not have been worth while to enter the war at all. As we saw in Chapter I, our nation is founded on a belief in the right of every one to life and physical well-being; to be secure in one's rightful possessions; to freedom of thought — education, free speech, a free press; to freedom of religion; to happiness in pleasant

surroundings and a wholesome social life; and, above all, to a voice in the government which exists to protect these rights. It was to secure a larger freedom to enjoy these rights, "for ourselves first and for all others in their time," that our nation was solidly united against the enemy that threatened it from without. But it was with this same purpose that the War of Independence was fought, that our Constitution was



ENDEAVORING TO ADJUST INDUSTRIAL DIFFERENCES

The members of the Second Industrial Conference called after the war by President Wilson

adopted, that slavery was abolished, that millions of people from foreign lands have come to our shores. It is this common purpose that makes the great mass of foreigners in our country Americans, ready to fight for America, if necessary even against the land of their birth. It is this for which the American flag stands at all times, whether in peace or in war.

What proof can you give of a "national spirit" in your locality during the war?

What evidence can you give to show that this national spirit is or is not as strong since the war closed?

What was the "National Army"? the "National Guard"? Which of these organizations was most likely to develop a "national spirit"? Why? What good reasons can you give for the action of the government in consolidating the Regular Army, the National Army, and the National Guard into a "United States Army"?

What arguments can you give in favor of requiring all instruction in the public schools to be given in the English language?

What arguments can you give in favor of teaching lessons in citizenship in foreign-language newspapers?

What foreign nationalities are represented in your locality?

Make a blackboard table showing the nationality of the parents and grandparents of each member of your class.

Show how the Spanish-American war was fought for the same purpose as that mentioned on page 81.

Write a brief theme on "What the Flag Means to Me."

The attempt to work together in the war made it very apparent how dependent the nation is upon all its parts, and how dependent each part is upon all the others. It was often said that "the farmers would win the war." At other times it was said to be ships, or fuel, or airplanes, or railroad transportation, or trained scientists and technical workers. The truth is, of course, that all these things and many more were absolutely necessary, and that no one of them would have been of much value without all the others.

It is true that the winning of the war depended upon the farmers, because they are the producers of the food and of the raw materials for textiles without which the nation and every group and person in it would have been helpless. But the farmer could not supply food to the nation without machinery for its production, and without city markets and railroads and ships for its distribution. Machinery could not be made, nor ships and locomotives built, without steel. For the manufacture of steel there must be iron and fuel and tungsten and other materials. And for all these things there must be in-

**National
interde-
pendence**

ventors and skilled mechanics, and to produce these there must be schools. And so we could go on indefinitely to show how the war made us feel our interdependence. What we need to understand, however, is that *this interdependence is characteristic of our national life at all times*; the war only made us feel it more keenly.



A PART OF OUR NEW MERCHANT FLEET

During the war, strange as it may seem, while we were devoting our national energies to the work of destruction incident to war, we as a nation made astonishing progress in many ways other than in the art of war—in what we might call nation-building. **Nation-building in war time**

In some ways we made progress in a year or two that under ordinary circumstances might have required a generation. A striking illustration of this is in the development of a great fleet of merchant ships at a rate that would have been impossible before the war. Beginning with almost nothing when the war began, we had, in less than two years, a merchant fleet larger than that of any other nation, and that in spite of the

constant destruction of ships by the enemy. The chairman of the shipping board of the United States government said that this was because the necessities of the war made the whole nation see how much it depends upon ships, and caused not only shipbuilders, but also engineers and manufacturers and business men and the navy department of the government, and many others, to concentrate upon this problem, with the result that we discovered methods of shipbuilding, and of loading and unloading and operating ships when they were built, that will probably enable us to maintain permanently a merchant marine, the lack of which we have deplored for many years.

In a similar way we discovered and brought into use valuable natural resources of whose existence we had largely been ignorant and for which we had been dependent upon other nations. We made astonishing progress in scientific knowledge, and especially in the application of this knowledge to invention and to industrial enterprises. We developed a new interest in agriculture, and learned the food values of many products that had formerly been neglected. We were led to attack seriously the great problem of suitable housing for workmen, and had an important lesson in the relation between wholesome home-life and industrial efficiency (see Chapter IX, pages 116-120). Foundations were laid for the adjustment of the unfortunate differences that have long existed between workmen and their employers. The war suggested changes in our educational methods, some of which will doubtless become effective, to the great improvement of our public schools, colleges, and technical schools.

We shall study some of these things more fully in later chapters. They are mentioned now to illustrate how *our national progress was stimulated when the war forced us to see the relation of all these things to one another and to the accomplishment of our national purpose*. On the other hand, failure to recognize this national interdependence means slow progress as a national

community. When the war began, our nation was said to be "unprepared." In so far as this was true — and it was true in many particulars — it was because in the times of peace before the war we had not thought enough about the dependence of our national strength and safety upon all these factors in our national life *working together*. And so, in the times of peace *after the war*, if the purposes for which our nation fought are



BETHLEHEM STEEL WORKS, BETHLEHEM, PA.

to be fulfilled, we must continue to profit by this lesson which the war has taught us.

Recall your discussion of national interdependence in connection with your study of Chapter II.

Report on some of the important scientific and commercial developments resulting from the war; as, for example,

The development of the commercial use of the airplane

The development of new food supplies

The production of fertilizer from the nitrogen of the air

The development of new industries in the United States

Changes in methods of farming

What are some changes in education that are likely to result from the war? Are any of these taking place now?

Show how the strike of coal miners in 1919, or a later strike, affected the life of the nation.

The "working together" of all these interdependent parts is the important thing. "The supreme test of the nation has come," said President Wilson. "We must all speak, act, and serve together."¹

It is not an army that we must shape and train for war . . . it is a Nation. To this end our people must draw close in one compact front against a common foe. But this cannot be if each man pursues a private purpose. The Nation needs all men, but it needs each man, not in the field that will most please him, but in the endeavor that will best serve the common good. . . . The whole Nation must be a team, in which each man must play the part for which he is best fitted.²

We had some suggestion on page 80 of how such national team work became a fact. "Do your bit!" was the watchword. It was splendid to see how personal interests gave way before the desire to serve the nation. It is a thrilling story how the racial elements in our population forgot their differences of race and language and remembered only that they were American; how employers and employees laid aside their differences; how farmers and business men, manufacturers and mechanics, miners and woodsmen, inventors and teachers, women in the home and children in the schools, doctors and nurses, and every other class and group subordinated their personal interests to the one national purpose of winning the war in order that "the world might become a decent place in which to live."

As soon as the United States entered the war Washington, the nation's capital, became filled with people from all parts of the country who wanted to help in some way. Some were called there by the government; others came to volunteer their services and to offer ideas that they thought useful. Many came as representatives of organizations — business and in-

¹ Message to the American People, April 15, 1917.

² Conscription Proclamation, May 18, 1917.

dustrial organizations, scientific associations, civic societies. New committees and associations were formed, until the number of voluntary citizen organizations eager to do "war work" became almost too numerous to remember. They were all an indication of the desire of the people to do their part in the national enterprise.



THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Those seated are the Cabinet members of the Council. They are from left to right, Secretaries Houston (Agriculture), Daniels (Navy), Baker (War), Lane (Interior), and Wilson (Labor).

But there followed a period of confusion. All these organizations and the people which they represented wanted to help, but they did not always know just what to do nor how to do it. Each organization had its own ideas which it often magnified above all others. Different organizations wanted to accomplish the same purpose, but wanted to do it in different ways. Often they duplicated one

Confusion
without
organization

another's efforts. A war could not be won under such conditions. But out of all this confusion there finally developed order, and this was because the various organizations of people realized that if they were to accomplish anything they must work in coöperation with the national government, whose business it was, after all, to organize the nation for united action. In fact, it was for this reason that they came to Washington. Many of them sought to influence the government to adopt this or that plan, and sometimes succeeded; but it was the government that finally decided what plans were to be adopted, and all of the effort of the numerous organizations and of individuals must be brought into harmony with these.

The period of the war afforded many striking examples of national coöperation secured by the government. It may have seemed sometimes that our government interfered with personal freedom to an unreasonable extent, as when it limited the amount of coal we could buy, fixed the prices of many articles, determined the wages that should be paid for labor, took over the management of the railroads and of the telegraph and telephone lines, and did many other things that it never had done in time of peace. We expected government to exercise powers in war time that it would not be permitted to exercise in time of peace. But it can be shown that even during the war the government, with all its unusual powers, did not "ride rough-shod" over the people, but sought to "make them partners in an enterprise which after all was their own." The nation was fighting for its life and for the very principles upon which it was founded, and it was necessary that coöperation should be complete and effective. This was what the government sought, and it exercised its powers by inviting and obtaining national coöperation to a remarkable extent.

Our national army was created by a "selective" draft, or conscription. Conscription had formerly been looked upon with

disfavor as a form of forced military service. A volunteer army was thought to be more in harmony with a democratic form of government. But the draft is now seen to be far more democratic than a volunteer army because it treats all able-bodied men alike, instead of leaving the fighting to those who are most courageous and most patriotic while those who are inclined to shirk may easily do so. Moreover, the *selective* draft means the selection of men to serve in the capacity for which they are best fitted. In Great Britain, under a volunteer system, and in France, under a system of compulsory military service for all men, thousands of brave men went to the trenches in the early days of the war who, because of their training, should have been kept at home to perform the vast amount of skilled labor and scientific work which this war demanded. War industry, without which there could be no fighting, was thus greatly hampered.

The selective draft as an illustration of team work

By our selective draft, on the other hand, while every man was expected to do his share, each was selected as far as possible to do the thing which he could do best and therefore which would best serve the country. It also sought to prevent those who had families dependent upon them from going to war until they were absolutely needed. Thus the selective draft is an example of government organizing our national man-power for more effective team work and with less hardship than if it had been left to voluntary action.

The United States Food Administration was created by the President to carry out the provisions of a law passed by Congress "to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel." The President placed at its head a man in whom the people of the country had great confidence because of his experience and success in organizing and managing the Belgian relief work, Mr. Herbert

Team work through the food administration

Hoover. He gathered around him men familiar with the problems relating to the food supply of the nation, and then proceeded to enlighten the country in regard to the nature of these problems and to seek for the coöperation of the people in solving them.

As soon as he was appointed, the food administrator issued a statement containing the following facts:

Whereas we exported before the war but 80,000,000 bushels of wheat per annum, this year we must find for all our allies 225,000,000 bushels, and this in the face of a short crop. . . . France and Italy formerly produced their own sugar, while England and Ireland imported largely from Germany. Owing to the inability of the first-named to produce more than one third of their needs, and the necessity for the others to import from other markets, they must all come to the West Indies for their very large supplies, and therefore deplete our resources.

If we can reduce our consumption of wheat flour by 1 pound, our meat by 7 ounces, our sugar by 7 ounces, our fat by 7 ounces *per person per week*, these quantities multiplied by 100,000,000 (the population of the United States) will immeasurably aid and encourage our allies, help our own growing armies, and so effectively serve the great and noble cause of humanity in which our nation has embarked.

This illustrates how the Food Administration sought coöperation. It "made partners" of the people, explained to them the situation, and asked them to help as individuals.

Democracy a partnership It showed the nation what it must do if it were to be successful in its undertaking. It is true that the President had large powers to enforce observance of the rules outlined by the Food Administration, but it was only in the exceptional case of the individual consumer and producer who refused to coöperate for the common good that it became necessary to use the power. The method of democracy is to point out clearly how the desired result may be obtained and to depend upon the people to govern themselves accordingly.

After a year of the war a member of the Food Administration is quoted as saying,¹ "There's never been anything like it in

¹ In an article on "Your Wheatless Days," by W. A. Wolff, in *Collier's Weekly*, Aug. 17, 1918.

history. . . . We asked the American people to do voluntarily more than any other people has ever been asked to do under compulsion. And the American people made good!"

What was true in the unusual time of war is true to even a greater extent in the ordinary time of peace. We have little to fear from our national government as long as we and those to whom we intrust its management always keep in mind its real purpose, which is to show us how to work together effectively as a nation and to help us to do it.

All through this study we are going to observe how in the ordinary affairs of life our national government serves us in this respect. One thing that we need especially **Every man counts** to learn is that we have a great national purpose *all the time*, in peace as well as in war. In fact, *peace is a part of that purpose*. We went to war because without it there could be no assurance of a lasting peace. While we fought to defend our national purpose and our national ideals against a powerful foe from without, this purpose and these ideals cannot be fully achieved by the war alone. They can be finally achieved only by ourselves as we develop, day by day, our national community life. To do this we must always keep in mind our great national purpose, we must realize our dependence upon one another in achieving this purpose, and we must make our national team work as perfect as it can be made. Above all, we must realize that, in peace as in war, *every man counts* in our national community life. As President Wilson said:

"The Nation needs all men, but it needs each man. . . .

"The whole Nation must be a team, in which each man shall play the part for which he is best fitted."

Read and discuss President Wilson's "Message to the American People" of April 15, 1917.

What organizations existed in your community to secure team work for war purposes?

Show how the Junior Red Cross, or the School Garden Army, made

coöperation of young citizens possible on a national scale. Is this true in peace times as well as in war time?

Is there greater or less need of national team work to-day than during the war? Explain your answer.

What evidences are there that the team work of our nation has not been as good since the war as during the war? Why is this?

Show how universal military training might increase the national spirit. What arguments can you give against it?

Should or should not the food administration of war time be continued in peace time? Why?

What does it mean to you to be an American?

READINGS

In Long's *American Patriotic Prose*:

Van Dyke, "The Blending of Races," p. 4.

De Crevecoeur, "The American," p. 38.

Webster, "Imaginary Speech of John Adams," p. 77.

Brooks, "The Fourth of July in Westminster Abbey," p. 89.

Van Dyke, "The Americanism of Washington," pp. 135-137.

Jay, "Unity as a Protection against Foreign Force and Influence," p. 139.

Webster, "Liberty and Union Inseparable," p. 158.

Lincoln, "Gettysburg Speech," p. 181.

Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Address," p. 183.

Whitman, "Two Brothers, One North, One South," p. 201.

Wilson, "Spirit of America," p. 266.

Roosevelt, "True Americanism," p. 270.

Wilson, "Conscription Proclamation," p. 283.

Hughes, "What the Flag Means," p. 288.

Eliot, "Five American Contributions to Civilization," p. 310.

Lane, "Makers of the Flag," p. 314.

McCall, "America the Melting Pot," p. 310.

Wilson, "To Newly-Made Citizens," p. 322.

Gibbons, "The Republic Will Endure," p. 340.

Eliot, "What Americans Believe In," p. 361.

Abbott, "Patriotism," p. 362.

In Foerster and Pierson's *American Ideals*:

Wilson, "Conscription Proclamation," p. 175.

Wilson, "Americanism and the Foreign-Born," p. 178.

Alderman, "Can Democracy be Organized?" p. 158.

CHAPTER VIII

A WORLD COMMUNITY

Is there a world community? A world torn by war, as our world was from 1914 to 1918, may not seem to give much evidence of it, and many would at once answer "No" to our question. And yet such phrases as the "brotherhood of man" and the "cause of humanity" are familiar to us all. We may briefly discuss the question in this study, because if there is such a community we are all members of it, and our membership in it affects our lives as individuals and as a nation.

The world community is certainly very imperfectly developed, but while the war emphasized its imperfections, it also furnished evidence of its reality. Its existence depends upon the presence of recognized common purposes and of organized team work in accomplishing these purposes, as in the case of any community. The war disclosed conflicting interests among the nations; but it united for a common purpose a larger part of the world's population than had ever before acted together in a common cause. It disclosed an interdependence among the nations and the peoples of the world that we had not thought of. And while it disclosed the weakness of the world's organization for team work, it aroused us to the possibilities of such organization, made us long for it, and brought us, as many believe, a step nearer to its accomplishment.

Separated by wide oceans from the rest of the world, our nation grew and prospered with a sense of security from the conflicts that from time to time disturbed the Old World. We early adopted a policy of

What the war disclosed with regard to a world community

America's detachment from the world

avoiding entanglements that might draw us into these conflicts. In his Farewell Address Washington said:

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. . . . Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part



"THE ATLANTIC HAS BEEN CROSSED BY AIRPLANE"

From a painting by Lieut. C. E. Ruttan, U.S.N.R.F.

This is one of a series of paintings depicting the trans-Atlantic flight and hanging in the Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, Washington, D.C.

of Europe, entangle our peace and posterity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice? It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.

A few years later, President Monroe issued his famous statement known as the Monroe Doctrine, which, recognizing the principle that Washington had stated, also denied the right of European powers to interfere with the free growth of the

republican nations of North and South America. The United States has steadfastly held to this doctrine from that day to this.

But great changes have come to the world since the time of Washington. The use of steam in navigation, the submarine cable, and wireless telegraphy have brought all the world into closer relations than existed between New England and the Southern States in the early days of our national life. Our government at Washington may send messages to European capitals and receive a reply within ten minutes. The Atlantic has been crossed by airplane. The nations of the world have become very close neighbors. The murder of a prince in a little city of central Europe drew from millions of homes in America their sons to fight on the soil of Europe. We entered the war because our interests were so closely bound up with those of the world that we could not keep out; because "what affects mankind is inevitably our affair, as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and Asia."

Nations have
become close
neighbors

The war did not create this interdependence; it only emphasized it. But now that we are aware of it, it will probably influence our lives to a much greater extent than before the war.

The nations that were associated against Germany occupy, with their dependencies, two thirds of the earth's surface and include more than four fifths of its population. The governments of these nations declared that they were fighting primarily, not for selfish interests such as "ports and provinces and trade," but "for the common interests of the whole family of civilized nations — for nothing less than the cause of mankind."¹ Even if some of the governments were influenced to a greater or less extent by selfish motives, they still recognized a common interest of the peoples of the world, a "cause of mankind," and based their appeals upon it. The prime minister of England said, "We must

What the
world was
fighting for

¹ Stuart P. Sherman, *American and Allied Ideals*, p. 14.

not allow any sense of revenge, any spirit of greed, any grasping desire, to overcome the fundamental principles of righteousness." Far-away Siam declared that she entered the war "to uphold the sanctity of international rights against nations showing a contempt for humanity." And little Guatemala proclaimed that she had "from the first adhered to and supported the attitude of the United States in defense of the rights of nations, of liberty of the seas, and of international justice." Our President said that "what we demand in this war is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in for every peace-loving nation. . . . All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest."

The avowed purpose for which the United States entered the war, and for which "all the peoples of the world are in effect partners," is the same as that for which the American Revolutionary War was fought, which was proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence, and for which America has always stood — the equal right of all men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and to self-government. Nearly the whole world was united against a few autocratic governments that denied these rights.

At the time of the American Revolution the colonists had no desire to fight the English *people*, but revolted against the autocratic English *government* of that time, which refused to recognize the rights of the people. The English people had many times fought for these rights, and many of them sympathized with the American colonists. The winning of American independence was a victory for free government in England as well as in America, and the government of England to-day is as democratic as our own. This understanding about the American Revolution throws light upon what the President of the United States meant when he said that we fought Germany for "the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, *the*

America has
fought for
the freedom
of others

German peoples included." Another writer said, "We are not fighting to put the Germans out but to get them in."

It has taken a long time for the peoples of the world to develop a sense of their common wants and purposes. Differences in language, in race and color, in religious beliefs and observances, in forms of government, even in such matters as dress and other habits and customs, have tended to obscure the common feelings of all. This lack of sympathetic understanding is suggested by Shylock, in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*:

The growth
of human
sympathy

Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same Winter and Summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? if we are like you in the rest we will resemble you in that.

Increased opportunity for travel, better means of communication, and more widespread education have greatly increased the understanding among peoples and nations, and have disclosed to view common purposes and ideals in spite of differences. The fact that large numbers of people from every part of the globe have come to the United States to live together as one nation has contributed to the same result

Give illustrations from your own experience and reading to show that differences in dress, language, race, and customs make sympathetic understanding difficult.

What is meant by "America, the melting-pot"?

As the peoples of the world have become better acquainted, individuals and groups have tended to associate themselves together, regardless of national boundaries, for the promotion of common interests.

International
coöperation

One example of this is the common movement of organized labor which has overstepped national boundaries.

There is an International Institute of Agriculture, with headquarters at Rome, and representing 56 countries, the purpose of which is to promote

better economic and social conditions among agricultural populations of the world. Some of its publications are published in five languages.

Literature and art bind all the world together, and science knows no national boundary lines. Christianity is one of the greatest influences for a "brotherhood of man." Differences in religious belief have presented most difficult barriers to overcome, but there has been a steadily increasing tolerance of one religious faith toward others.

These are only a few of hundreds of illustrations that might be given.

Make a list of international organizations known to you or your parents.



MEETING OF THE LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES, GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Thirty nations are here represented. The meeting is being held in the room where the treaty was concluded between the United States and Great Britain settling the dispute that arose during the Civil War with regard to the Confederate boat *Alabama*.

We have all become familiar, during the war, with the work of the Red Cross. No other organization has done more to extend the feeling of common [brotherhood in the world and the spirit of world service. Since the war a League of Red Cross Societies has been formed, with headquarters at Geneva, Swit-

zerland, and representing thirty nations. During the war a Junior Department of the Red Cross was organized, enrolling in its membership about twelve million Amer-
 ican boys and girls and organizing them for the Red Cross practical service to war-stricken Europe and Asia.

Since the war, the Junior Red Cross, whose headquarters are at Washington, D.C., has developed a plan to promote correspondence among boys and girls of different lands, and an exchange of handiwork, pictures, and other things illustrative of their interests. The American School Citizenship League (405 Marlborough Street, Boston) encourages the same idea, and there is a Bureau of French-American Education Correspondence for a similar purpose, with headquarters at the George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.

Numerous *international peace congresses* have been held, the first one as early as 1843, and in the United States and other countries organizations exist for the promotion of friendly relations among the nations, and especially for the substitution of arbitration for war as a means of settling international disputes.

Among such organizations in the United States are the League to Enforce Peace, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the American Peace and Arbitration League, the American Peace Society, the World Peace Federation, the Church Peace Union.

One of the most successful experiments in international coöperation is that of the North and South American republics. The first Pan-American Conference, attended by delegates from the twenty-one American republics, was held in Washington, D.C., in 1889. As a result of this Conference the Pan-American Union was established, with permanent headquarters in Washington. Its purpose is "the development of commerce, friendly intercourse, and good understanding among these countries."

What may be gained by correspondence between the young people of different lands?

Report on the following (see Readings) :

The work of the Pan-American Union

The work of the Red Cross in war and peace

The peace program of the Junior Red Cross

To secure anything like effective team work among the nations for the common interest and to substitute arbitration for war as a means of settling differences, there must be some kind of international organization, and rules to which the governments of the nations will agree.



PAN-AMERICAN BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Civilized nations have always had their official means of dealing with one another through their governments, such as the diplomatic and consular services. Alliances have, from time immemorial, been made between nations, treaties have been solemnly agreed to, and a body of international law has gradually grown up. But treaties and international law have frequently been violated, and no international government has existed with sufficient authority or power to force nations to observe

the law or to keep their agreements. As a result of two peace conferences held at The Hague in Holland, in 1899 and 1907, an international Court of Arbitration was established at The Hague (The Hague Tribunal), before which disputes might be brought by nations if they desired to do so. But there was no way by which a nation could be compelled to appeal to the court.



INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE, 1919

This Conference was held at Washington, D.C., having been called together by the United States Government in accordance with the terms of the treaty of peace with Germany. It was attended by delegates from forty nations.

Nations have a strong sense of their *nationality*, and are extremely jealous of their *sovereignty*, which is the supreme power claimed by every nation to form its own government and to manage its own affairs without interference by other nations. It is this that

**Nationality
and
sovereignty**

has prevented the development of anything like a real international government that could control the conduct of national governments, or that could require a nation to submit its grievances to any judge other than itself. This has been one of the chief weaknesses of the world community.

Many people have long believed that the self-governing nations of the world must sooner or later unite, in the interest of world peace, in some kind of federation or league, with a central organization to which all would agree to submit their differences. The war made it seem even more necessary. Accordingly the Peace Conference at Versailles at the close of the war included in the treaty of peace a Covenant (or constitution) for a League of Nations. In January, 1920, the treaty, including the Covenant, had been ratified by four of the five great nations associated against Germany (France, England, Italy, and Japan; the United States being the exception), and several smaller nations. While the President of the United States strongly advocated the treaty with the Covenant, the Senate did not approve of its ratification. Those in our country who opposed the Covenant as it was offered by the Peace Conference did so for a variety of reasons, but chief among them were: first, the fear that the Covenant would cause us to depart from the principles laid down by Washington and Monroe (see page 94); and, second, the fear that the powers conferred upon the international government would deprive our national government of some of its sovereign powers. The friends of the Covenant of course denied that either of these things would be true.

The question of the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations under the Covenant as contained in the treaty of peace became an issue in the presidential election of 1920. By the overwhelming defeat of the Democratic candidate, who favored acceptance of the Covenant, the people confirmed the action of the Senate a few months

earlier. However, the victorious candidate of the Republican Party declared himself in favor of "some kind" of an association of nations which the United States should enter, and this seems to represent popular feeling, although there are those in both great political parties who wish the United States to remain out of *any* such association or league. Meanwhile, the League of



ASSEMBLING OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT PARIS, FRANCE

President Poincaré of France, in opening the conference said, "You hold in your hands the future of the world."

Nations as provided for in the Covenant in the treaty of peace has been organized, its Council having held its first meeting January 16, 1920, the United States, of course, not being represented. By the end of 1920, forty-six nations were members.

Whether or not the United States should enter the League we shall have to leave for the statesmen to decide; and whether or not the League will accomplish the desired ends, time alone can prove. But two or three things may safely be said with regard to any really effective world government.

When people live together in communities, each person has to sacrifice something of his personal freedom in order that all may enjoy the largest possible liberty (see page 22). The same is true of families in a neighborhood, of communities in a state, of the states in our nation. There is no reason why it should not be true of nations which are neighbors to one another. No nation has any more right to do as it pleases than a person or a family has, *if what it pleases to do is unjust to its neighbors*. The only thing, however, that a nation can properly be asked to give up is *being unjust to its neighbors*. We saw in Chapter IV that government and law increase rather than decrease the individual citizen's freedom, and that it is only the "ill-mannered" who feel the restriction of a wise government (see page 48). So, when we finally get a world government that is good, it will be one that will increase the freedom of all "good-mannered" nations, restricting only those that are "ill-mannered."

Moreover, when we finally get a league of nations that will really secure friendly coöperation among the nations for their common interests, it will be brought about, not by sacrificing nationality and national patriotism, but by *strengthening* them.

What is required is not less loyalty to one's nationality, but more sympathetic understanding of nationalities and national ideals different from one's own, combined with a recognition of the fundamental interests. . . . which unite them to each other.¹

The only way to be sure of a perfect neighborhood is first to see to it that the homes of the neighborhood are strong and wholesome. No person can really be loyal to his neighborhood who is not first of all loyal to his home. Thoroughly efficient townships and counties and cities are essential to a thoroughly efficient state; and no citizen is loyal to his state who is not loyal to his township, county, and city. The strength of our

¹ "Thoughts on Nationalism and Internationalism," in *History Teacher's Magazine*, June, 1918, p. 334.

nation depends upon the strength of the states that compose it, and real national patriotism cannot well exist in the heart of a citizen who is disloyal to his state. The first essential step toward an effective *world* government is to see that our national government is efficient and at the same time *just*. The first and best service that a citizen can perform for the world community is to be loyal to *American ideals*, which are becoming the ideals of an ever-increasing part of the world's population.

*The new type of patriot no longer cries, "My country against the world," but "My country for the world."*¹

What disputes have been settled by the Hague Tribunal? Why was the dispute that led to the recent war not settled by it?

The meaning of "nationality?" Of "sovereignty?"

Has a government any more right to be dishonest than an individual?

Report both sides of the argument over the ratification by the United States of the treaty of peace with the Covenant for the League of Nations (see references).

Follow the steps of the Republican administration begun in 1921 to bring the United States into "some kind of association" with the other nations.

Discuss the truth of the statement that "the only way to be sure of a perfect neighborhood is first to see to it that the homes of the neighborhood are strong and wholesome."

What is the meaning of the statement in the quotation at the end of the text above?

READINGS

In Long's *American Patriotic Prose*:

Washington, "Farewell Address," pp. 105-124.

Washington, "Proclamation of Neutrality," pp. 143-146.

"The Monroe Doctrine," pp. 148-149.

John Quincy Adams, "The Mission of America," pp. 149-150.

George F. Hoar, "A Warning Against the Spirit of Empire," pp. 244-247.

Woodrow Wilson, "Spirit of America," pp. 266-268.

Franklin K. Lane, "Why We Are Fighting Germany," pp. 282-283.

Carl Schurz, "The Rule of Honor for the Republic," pp. 342-343.

Woodrow Wilson, "War Message of April 2, 1917," pp. 351-361.

In Foerster and Pierson's *American Ideals*:

Washington, "Counsel on Alliances" (Farewell Address), pp. 185-189.

¹ Stuart P. Sherman, *American and Allied Ideals*, p. 14.

"The Monroe Doctrine," pp. 190-193.

Henry Clay, "The Emancipation of South America," pp. 194-199.

Robert E. Lansing, "Pan-Americanism," pp. 200-206.

A. Lawrence Lowell, "A League to Enforce Peace," pp. 207-223.

George G. Wilson, "The Monroe Doctrine and the League to Enforce Peace," pp. 224-232.

Woodrow Wilson, "The Conditions of Peace," pp. 233-241.

Woodrow Wilson, "War for Democracy and Peace," pp. 242-256.

Various books and pamphlets have been written relating to the League of Nations and world relations following the war. Among these are:

The League of Nations, edited by Henry E. Jackson (published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., 70 Fifth Ave., N.Y. Paper, 50¢; cloth, \$1). "A document prepared to stimulate community discussion and promote organized public opinion." This book contains, at the end, a list of titles of books and pamphlets on the subject.

The Lodge-Lowell Debate on the Covenant of the League of Nations (World Peace Foundation, Boston). President Lowell, of Harvard University, argued for, and Senator Lodge against, the Covenant as contained in the treaty of peace.

Taft, William Howard, *Why a League of Nations is Necessary* (League to Enforce Peace, New York).

Sherman, Stuart P., *American and Allied Ideals* (World Peace Foundation, Boston).

The complete official record of the United States Senate debate on the treaty of peace is to be found in the *Congressional Record*, a file of which should be in your public library.

The course of the debate was followed more or less closely by such periodicals as *The Literary Digest*, *World's Work*, *The Outlook*, *The Independent*.

For the work of the Pan-American Union and the Red Cross consult your public library; and write to the Pan-American Union and the American Red Cross, both in Washington, D.C., for descriptive publications.

For the Hague Conferences and the Hague Tribunal consult any good modern encyclopedia, and your public library. Write for materials to the American School Peace League, 405 Marlborough St., Boston, and the World Peace Foundation, Boston.

Lessons in Community and National Life: Series B, Lesson 16, "Why We Must Help France."

CHAPTER IX

THE COMMUNITY AND THE HOME

"No nation can be destroyed while it possesses a good home life."

THE home is the smallest, the simplest, and the most familiar community of which we are members. In many respects it is also the most important. The quotation with which the chapter opens suggests this.

What do you think the quotation at the head of the chapter means? In what respects do you think it is true?

Some cities take pride in the fact that they are "cities of homes." What does this mean? Why is it a cause for pride? Does the phrase apply to your city?

May a good home exist in a poor dwelling? A poor home in a fine dwelling?

Is a hotel a home? May a family living in a hotel have a home there?

Is an orphanage a home? Would you be willing to exchange life in your own home for life in an orphanage? Why?

The home is important (1) because of what it does for its own members, and (2) because of what it does for the larger community of which it is a part.

Under the conditions of pioneer life the wants of the members of the family were provided for almost entirely by their own united efforts. When other homes were built in the neighborhood a larger community life began.

The neighboring homes came to depend upon one another and to cooperate in many ways. The store at the crossroads provided for many wants that each home had formerly provided for itself. The doctor who came to live in the community relieved the home of much anxiety in case of sickness. The education of the children was in part, at least, turned

**Effect of
community
growth**

over to the community school. And so, as a community grows, the home shifts much of the responsibility for providing for the wants of its members upon community agencies.

This shifting of responsibility for the welfare of citizens from the home to the larger community is carried furthest in cities.

**Dependence
of the city
home**

Almost everything wanted in the home may be bought in the city shops, and work that is done in the home for the family, such as repair work, dress-making, laundry work, and cooking, is likely to be done by



OLD LOG HOUSE ON AN OHIO FARM

people brought in from the outside. Water is piped in from a public water supply and sewage is piped out through public sewers. Gas and electricity are furnished by city plants. Since many homes have no spot of ground for a garden or for outdoor play, they depend upon

public parks and playgrounds provided by the city. These are among the many so-called advantages of city life.

When so much is done for the citizen by community agencies, there is danger that the family may lose sight of its responsibility

**The
obligation of
the home**

to its own members and to the community. The home can never transfer to the community the entire responsibility for the welfare of its members.

Even in the largest and best governed cities, the influence of the home for the health, the safety, the education, the social and recreational life of the people is more far-reaching than that of any other agency. Indeed, the responsibility of the home increases with the growth of the community because of the increasing interdependence of which we have learned (Chapter II).

When a home is isolated, its members are the chief sufferers from failure to take proper measures for health protection. In a city, the carelessness or indifference or ignorance of one family may cause the pollution of the entire city's water supply, or the spread of an epidemic of disease. The influence of an untidy or illiterate home may counteract the influence of a good school throughout an entire neighborhood.



A STREET OF HOMES IN KANSAS CITY

Schools, health department, fire department, and all the other agencies of the city government, which are, as we have seen, merely the machinery for securing community coöperation, will fail to produce the results expected of them unless coöperation on the part of the community's homes actually takes place. It is a lack of such coöperation that is really responsible for much of the inefficiency for which the schools and other departments of government are frequently blamed.

Review what was said in Chapter II regarding the independence of the pioneer family; also what was said about the growing dependence of the family upon the community.

Gather stories regarding pioneer home life (a) in your own locality; (b) in the settlement of the West; (c) in colonial times. Illustrate from these stories how the home provided for the wants of its members.

From parents or grandparents ascertain what wants were provided for in their homes during childhood that are now provided for by agencies outside of your home.

How far is it true that "almost everything wanted in *your* home is bought in the city shops," and that "work done in *your* home for the family is done by help brought in from outside?"

Discuss the truth of the statement that "the responsibility of the home increases with the growth of the community," giving illustration from your own experience or observation.



NEW HOMES IN WICHITA FALLS, TEXAS

Show how your school may be hindered in its work by lack of coöperation on the part of the homes of the pupils. In what respects does your school depend particularly upon coöperation from the homes of the pupils?

Home building is always an important factor in community and nation building. It gives permanence and stability to community and national life. This is suggested by the experience of Wichita Falls, Texas. Because of the discovery of oil in the vicinity, this city grew from a population of 8500 in 1910 to a population of 45,000 in 1920. "Realizing that Wichita Falls in its new era

The home
the unit
of commun-
ity life

of growth is made up largely of newcomers, the Chamber of Commerce is endeavoring to tie the families throughout the city definitely to the community through the formation of block organizations and 'block parties.' It is impossible to hold a family wholeheartedly unless some sort of claim upon the home, including the wife and mother and the children, is established. The fact that the head of the family has a good business connection downtown does not make good citizens of the entire family."¹



RECONSTRUCTION OF HOMES IN FRANCE

Note the temporary homes erected in the ruins of this town (Attigny). Through the Junior Red Cross many boys and girls of America have helped to furnish such homes and to care for the children who occupy them.

One of the first things to which France and other European nations turned their attention after the close of the Great War was the restoration of home life. In the war-swept regions many thousands of homes had been destroyed. More serious than the destruction of dwellings was the breaking up of families, which was not limited to the battle zone. It is said that more than

Home building in war-stricken Europe

¹ *The American City*, September, 1920, p. 315.



SOME OF POLAND'S HOMELESS CHILDREN



FEEDING THE HUNGRY IN ALBANIA

The breaking up of families was a serious result of the war

11,000,000 children in Europe lost one or both parents during the war, and that from one third to one half of this number were left absolutely homeless. The children of America have helped materially in the reconstruction of European homes through the channels of the Junior Red Cross.

In what ways do you think the existence of 11,000,000 war orphans in Europe weakens the nations in which they live?

Why should America be interested in these European war orphans?

Report on the work of the Junior Red Cross in assisting the children of Europe.

When the United States government undertook to develop the resources of the unsettled public lands in the West (see Chapter XX), it sought the coöperation of the people in the enterprise, and secured it largely by appealing to their desire to own homes. Thus, the Homestead Act passed by Congress in 1862 and modified from time to time by later Acts, provides that any citizen of the United States who has reached the age of twenty-one, or who is the head of a family, may acquire a homestead in the public lands on condition that he builds a dwelling, lives there for a period of three years and actually cultivates the land, paying to the government only a small fee. Thus the government serves the people by aiding them to acquire homes, while the people serve the nation by opening up the resources of the land.

The census taken by the United States government every ten years shows that home ownership has been decreasing both in cities and in rural districts, but most in cities.

This has been observed with considerable anxiety because of its probable effect upon our national welfare and upon the citizenship of the country.

A family that owns its home feels a sense of proprietorship in a part of the community land. The money value of a home increases in proportion to the prosperity of the community as

Nation
building
through home
building

Home owner-
ship and
community
stability



WHICH FAMILY TAKES THE GREATER INTEREST IN THE COMMUNITY?

a whole; its owner will therefore be inclined to do all he can to promote the welfare of the community. A community that is made up largely of homes owned by their occupants is likely to be more prosperous and more progressive, and its citizens more loyal to it, than a community whose families are tenants.

Yet it must not be thought that tenancy is in all cases a bad thing, nor that a man who does not own his home cannot be a thoroughly good citizen. There are circumstances **The tenant as a citizen** that make it necessary for many families to live in dwellings that they do not own. Tenancy may be a step toward home ownership. A citizen may have insufficient money to buy a home, but enough to enable him to rent one. By industry, economy, and intelligence, he may soon accumulate means with which to buy the home he occupies or some other. It is as much the duty of the home renter as it is of the home owner to take an interest in the community life in which he and his family share, and to coöperate with his neighbors for the common good. While he lives in the community, he is largely dependent upon it, like any other citizen, for the satisfaction of his wants. Its streets and markets and shops are as free for him as for others. He gets the benefit of its schools for the education of his children. His life, his health, and his property are protected by the same agencies that protect those of his home-owning neighbors. He cannot, therefore, escape the responsibility of contributing to the progress of his community to the extent of his ability.

Is home ownership increasing or decreasing in your neighborhood? What reasons are given by your parents and others? Consult your parents and others regarding the beneficial or detrimental effects upon the neighborhood of this increase or decrease. Compare, in class, the results from the several neighborhoods represented by the different members of the class.

Does experience in your community support the statement that home owners are likely to take greater interest in the community than home renters?

Make a map of your block, and upon it show the homes that are owned by their occupants and those that are rented. What per cent of the homes are occupied by their owners?

What benefits from the community does a home owner enjoy that a home renter does not enjoy? What responsibilities does the home owner have that the home renter does not have? Consult your parents.

A "home" consists of very much more than a dwelling place; yet families have to be properly housed if homes are to be

thoroughly happy and contribute effectively to the welfare of the community. It is not necessary that the dwelling be costly or pretentious; some homes are very imperfect in spite of elaborate dwelling places. But no home can perform its full service to its members or to the community if housed in unwholesome or very unpleasant conditions. The housing of its people is a matter of first importance to any community.

The rapid growth of cities (see page 73) has brought with it a serious housing problem. Almost every city has its overcrowded residence districts. Population often grows more rapidly than housing facilities can be provided. Frequently transportation facilities are inadequate, preventing people from living at a distance from their work, and causing congestion in spots. Foreign elements in the population tend to mass themselves in restricted districts in accordance with nationality or race. Lack of space for separate dwellings leads to the construction of apartment or tenement houses, and grasping landlords sometimes seek to increase their revenues by reducing the size, and thereby increasing the number, of rooms and apartments in a building. Besides all this, many people are ignorant with respect to wholesome conditions of living.

The housing problem was greatly aggravated during the recent war. The demand for workers in war industries caused a sudden great increase in city population, while demand for labor and materials for war purposes caused an almost complete cessation of building operations. Thus there occurred a serious shortage of housing facilities in practically all cities. Those who crowded into industrial centers found living conditions too often unpleasant and unwholesome. People cannot do their work well when they live in unwholesome or unpleasant surroundings, so that one of the first things our government had to do was to provide suitable housing facilities

for those working to supply its needs. During the first year of the war Congress appropriated \$200,000,000 for housing purposes.



A "STREET" IN PHILADELPHIA

Bad housing conditions are a menace to the community in many ways. They increase fire hazards. They endanger the health of the entire community. They breed vice and crime. They cause depreciation of property values. They increase the cost of government. **Regulation of housing conditions** For these reasons cities have been driven, after much neglect, to seek a remedy. Nearly all large cities have departments of government for the purpose — tenement house departments, or housing bureaus or commissions— and laws to control

building so as to secure health and safety. A system of inspection is usually maintained. Sometimes there are state laws regulating housing in all cities of the state. In some cities voluntary organizations of citizens have been created for coöperation for better homes. In some cases "model tenements" have been built as a demonstration of the possibility of pro-



HOMES FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
Pressed Steel Car Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.

viding homes at reasonable cost, but still yielding a profit to the promoters. Interest in this matter has been greatly stimulated as a result of the conditions produced by the war.

Cincinnati affords an illustration of organization for the promotion of better housing. The city has a Housing Bureau in the Building Department of its government, and a Sanitary Bureau in its Health Department, both of which are said to be unusually efficient. But in addition, there is a voluntary organization of citizens known as the Better Housing League, which is supported by funds contributed by the citizens of Cincinnati to the "community chest" for purposes of community welfare.

The Better Housing League maintains a number of "visiting housekeepers," who visit and supervise every house in districts where conditions are not what they should be, instructing the tenants in matters pertaining

to home-making, and seeking the coöperation of the owners of the dwelling, in keeping the latter in good repair.

The case of Cincinnati described above illustrates the importance which cities are beginning to attribute to their housing and homemaking problems. It also illustrates the necessity of team work in meeting these problems successfully. Government bureaus, voluntary service organizations, landlords and tenants, the citizens generally, all have to work together. Even the children have a part. Of the visiting housekeeper in Cincinnati it is said, "Often her best ally would be the children, who could be encouraged to help the mother with the housekeeping or to take full charge of caring for the yard, and who often could be won over when the parents appeared utterly unresponsive." The school children of Cincinnati are organized in a "Civic and Vocational League," which gives them opportunity to participate in movements of community welfare. They have coöperated in the better housing movement, have studied the subject in the schools, and have had an essay contest on the subject, "What I have done to improve my home and neighborhood."¹

**Team work
in home-
making**

Has your city a housing problem? Is it more of a problem to-day than before the war? If so, in what way?

Are there sections of your city in which population is greatly congested? On a map of your city show these sections. Why has congestion occurred in these particular sections more than in others?

Find out what fire insurance rates are in the congested districts of your city as compared with those of less crowded districts. If there is a difference, why is it?

From the health reports of your city ascertain in what sections there is the most sickness; in what sections the highest death rate. Show these sections on your map and compare with the sections of crowded population. What is meant by "death rate"?

Why should bad housing conditions increase the cost of government? Is it true that they do so in your city?

¹ This information regarding Cincinnati is taken from *The American City*, October, 1920, p. 375.

Is there a tenement house department, or housing bureau, or other governmental agency, in your city to regulate housing? If so, get copies of its reports for examination in class. From these reports or other sources ascertain such facts as the following: — Kinds of work done by the department or bureau; the worst features of the housing situation in your city; improve-



ALLEY HOMES

ments recently made in the situation; who is in charge of the department or bureau; how he (or they) is appointed or chosen for the work.

What voluntary agencies exist in your city to deal with the housing situation? Get copies of their reports for study.

If any governmental or voluntary agencies have made photographic illustrations of the housing conditions in your city, try to get copies for study. (May be reproduced in printed reports.)

Who is responsible for bad housing conditions in your city?

Could the school children of your city do anything to improve home conditions? Would a "Better Homes League" be a good thing in your school?

How could you find out about the organization and work of the Civic and Vocational League of Cincinnati?

What impression would a stranger get with regard to the "community spirit" of your city or neighborhood from the appearance of its homes? Would he be right?

One reason for bad housing conditions is the fact that our cities have been allowed to grow up without *plan*. The city of Washington is the one conspicuous example in the City United States of a city built according to a plan **Planning** carefully made in the beginning, the result being a city of exceptional beauty. Two other facts have tended to preserve Washington as "a city of homes." One of these is the ample space available for expansion, and the other is the almost entire absence of industrial life and its accompaniment of factory districts. Other influences have been at work, however, even in Washington, to prevent the fullest development of home life, and even resulting in bad housing conditions.

The District of Columbia, in which the nation's capital is situated, comprises 70 square miles of land which was ceded to the nation by the state of Maryland.¹ Instead **The nation's** of retaining direct control over all this land, the **capital** government sold a large part of it for private use. This resulted, for one thing, in the construction of many buildings wholly out of harmony with the original plan. Under private ownership, also, land speculation has occurred, and land values have enormously increased, especially in certain sections. One result is that, while large areas of land within the city still remain unimproved, in other sections, even in the best parts of the city, dwellings have been crowded together in unattractive rows with little or no yard space. Worse than this, actual "slum" districts were allowed to develop in the heart of the city, even narrow alleys becoming occupied with unsanitary dwellings. The worst of these conditions have been rectified, but at much

¹ The District originally included an area on the Virginia side of the Potomac, but this was ceded back to Virginia.

greater cost than would have been the case if they had been prevented in the beginning.

Another thing that has influenced the housing situation in our capital city is the proportionately large population connected with the government and living in the city only temporarily. One result of this is a remarkably large number of apartment houses for a city with as much space as Washington has. They have sprung up in all parts



WHY "ZONING" IS NECESSARY

of the city. Some of them are attractive in appearance, others are not. In some cases the ground floor is occupied by shops of various kinds, which have been rapidly encroaching upon the residential districts of the city. Like many other cities, Washington is now trying to correct this situation by the adoption of what is known as the "zoning system." This is a plan by which to regulate the types of buildings that may be constructed in various "zones," or areas, of the city. By it business establishments are excluded from certain districts, the height of buildings regulated, and so on.

In the city of Cleveland, where the right of the city to restrict

the building of apartment houses was questioned, a decision was rendered in one of the courts, in which the following statements were made:

"It would seem that there could be no two opinions upon the proposition that the apartment house, or tenement, in a section of private residences, is a nuisance to those in its immediate vicinity. . . . It shuts off the light and air from its neighbors, it invades their privacy, it spreads smoke and soot throughout the neighborhood. The noise of constant deliveries is almost continuous. The fire hazard is recognized to be increased. . . . The danger of the spread of disease is undoubtedly increased, however little, where a number of families use a common hallway and common front and rear stairways.

"The erection of one apartment house in a district of private homes would seriously affect only those persons living in the immediate vicinity thereof, but the common experience is that the erection of one apartment drives out the single residences adjacent thereto, to make way for more apartments. The result is that, in time, and not a very great time, when one apartment is erected, the whole street is given over to apartment houses.

"The apartment house is, for many, a desirable convenience, and for some a necessity. . . . Their erection should not be prohibited. . . . Private residences, with yards for play space, with grass, trees, and flowers are necessities for people with children, and as much a convenience to the people without children who take an old-fashioned pride in owning their homes, as is the apartment house to those who are willing to accept its restrictions for its compensatory freedom from responsibilities. It is at least as important to the community to preserve the private home for this class as it is to provide the apartment for the first.

"Under this zoning ordinance the private home is preserved and the apartment house is provided. . . . The necessities or convenience of those who live in them" (the apartments) "will be served thus with the least sacrifice of the necessities and convenience of others."¹

Study the plan of the city of Washington shown on page 214. In what respects does it differ from the plan of your city?

Make a report on "city planning," especially as it relates to better homes.

Is there a city planning movement in your city? If so, how does it propose to deal with the housing problem?

Report on the increase of apartment houses in your city, and in your neighborhood. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of such increase.

¹ Decision of Judge Kramer, April 30, 1920; quoted in *The American City*, August, 1920, p. 140.

Report on the "zoning system" — in your own city if it is applied there; if not, in other cities (see references).

Is what Judge Kramer says in the second paragraph quoted above true in your city? Discuss the justice of what he says in the third and fourth paragraphs.



A DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT
Where family difficulties are often adjusted

Living conditions, such as we have been discussing in the preceding paragraphs, are only one of the factors in the making of the home. Even more important are the relations that exist among the members of the family. If it is true that the strength of a nation depends largely upon the stability of its homes, it is startling to learn that in the United States homes are broken up by the divorce of husband and wife more frequently than in any other civilized country. According to recent statistics there is in England, for example, one divorce to every four hundred marriages, while in the United States there is one to every twelve marriages!

The number of divorces in our country during a period of years increased three times as rapidly as the population. Divorce is due, of course, to unhappy conditions in the home, which are themselves harmful. The increasing frequency of divorce does not necessarily indicate that there are more unhappy homes than formerly; it may merely be an indication of a greater inclination on the part of husband and wife to end the unhappiness by separation.

For example, the kinds of occupations open to women have increased rapidly in number during recent years. This has brought many advantages to women, and will no doubt prove a good thing for the community. But the very fact that it has increased women's independence of men for support has doubtless led, in many cases, to a postponement of marriage and made it less necessary for women to submit to unhappy conditions in the home.

A great many things have to be taken into consideration in deciding which is the greater of the two evils — the breaking up of the home to end unhappy conditions, or to put up with the unhappy conditions in the home for the sake of holding the family together. In neither case can the home perform its full service to its members or to the community. One of the chief considerations is the welfare of the children. Fortunately, the records show that divorce occurs less frequently in homes where there are children, and this suggests the importance of children as a factor in giving stability to the home. And yet there are children in about forty per cent of the homes where divorce occurs.

One of the points in community life where religious influence is greatest (see page 5) is in connection with the institution of the family. In the early days of the Christian Church marriage was considered as a sacred rite and was wholly under the control of the Church. Once entered into, it could not be dissolved. The Roman and Greek Catholic Churches still look upon it in this way, so that divorce rarely occurs among their members. A

**The welfare
of the
children**

**Religious
influence
in family
relations**

religious view of marriage is by no means absent among Christians of Protestant denominations, nor among other religious sects, such as the Jews. It is customary for the marriage ceremony to be performed by a clergyman, and the Church usually frowns upon divorce even if it does not forbid it as does the Roman Catholic Church. In any case, the religious view of marriage as a sacred institution is one of the most powerful influences for the stability of the home.

But marriage is no longer entirely under the control of the Church. It is regulated by civil law. Unless religious views prevent it, as in the case of Roman Catholics, persons may be married by a justice of the peace, or other civil magistrate; and in any case, the civil law requires that certain conditions shall be fulfilled before marriage is permitted. Thus, the contracting parties must have reached a prescribed age, and a license to marry must be obtained from the proper legal authorities. It is the civil law, also, that permits and regulates divorce. Since marriage and divorce are regulated by state law, and not by national law, there is great variation in the effectiveness of the regulation in the different states. Some states are very lax in the matter. It is believed that one step necessary to secure greater stability in family life in the United States is to secure closer agreement among the states with respect to these laws, as well as greater care in their enforcement.

What is the legal age for marriage in your state? What other requirements must be met in your state before a young man and young woman may be married?

Where does one go, in your city, to obtain a marriage license? Why should a marriage license be required?

Look in your daily paper for a list of marriage licenses issued. Why is such a list published? If you were a newspaper reporter, where would you obtain such a list?

What other "statistics" are published in your daily paper, probably in the same column with the list of marriage licenses? Why are these called "vital statistics"?

When a marriage is performed there must be witnesses. Why is this? Do the witnesses and the clergyman who performs the marriage have to sign anything? What do they sign, and why?

Why would greater uniformity in the marriage and divorce laws of the several states tend to create greater stability of the family?

If uniformity of such laws is desirable, why does not the national government control the matter instead of leaving it to the several states?

What does "civil" law mean? What other kinds of law are there?



A TENEMENT HOME OCCUPATION

Making artificial flowers

The most important thing, however, is to remove, as far as possible, the causes that produce unhappy homes. Bad housing conditions are one of these; but there are many others. Home life has been seriously affected by great changes that have occurred in community life, and this is especially true in cities. In the early days of our nation, occupations were largely carried on in the home, and were largely a family enterprise. The invention of machinery changed all this. It caused the growth of factories where men work from early morning until late in the day to support their families. In large cities business and professional men are also away from home all day. Fathers thus often have little

**Causes of
unhappy
homes**

chance to get really acquainted with their families, especially their children. Even more serious is the fact that the modern industrial system makes possible, and the increasing difficulty of supporting a family often requires, the entrance of women, and even of children, into occupations outside of the home. Of course, such conditions do not necessarily cause unhappy homes; but they disturb home life to a greater or less extent, and sometimes disastrously. If the occupations in which the members of the family are engaged, especially those of the women and the children, are such as to be physically or mentally exhausting, or a drain upon the health, the best home life is practically impossible.

City life has brought with it other conditions that tend to disturb home life, among those who are well-to-do quite as much as among the less prosperous. The fact, referred to earlier in this chapter, that many agencies exist to relieve the home of its responsibility in many things, leads in this direction. Where children, for example, are relieved of the necessity or the opportunity of sharing in the responsibility of housekeeping tasks, they lose valuable experience in matters pertaining to home-making. The numerous opportunities for amusement and recreation afforded by the city have their good side; but they may, and often do, take the interest, not only of children but also of their elders, away from the home. The city offers many and varied temptations to dissipation, which is always destructive of the well-being of the home.

Cities and states have a variety of laws to control vice and immorality; to regulate amusements; to prohibit or regulate child labor; to protect the health of men and women while at work; to prevent accidents to workers; to prohibit the employment of women in certain kinds of occupations; to limit the length of the working day; to regulate the "sweat shop"; to provide a living wage;

Effect of life in cities
Laws that safeguard the home

to provide for mothers' pensions, and other forms of "social insurance." The importance of such laws lies largely in the protection they give to the home. The school also has a great responsibility both for the training of home-makers and for the creation of ideals among young citizens that will protect the home both now and later.

It needs to be remembered that the home exists primarily for the children; its greatest service is in the rearing of children in order that they may get a fair start in life for themselves, and also in order that they may be **A school of citizenship** thoroughly efficient members of the community. The family has been called a "school of all the virtues" that go to make good citizenship. There are developed thoughtfulness for others, a spirit of self-sacrifice and of service for the common good, loyalty to the group, respect for the opinions of others of long experience, a spirit of team work, obedience to rules that exist for the welfare of all. If these things are not cultivated in the home, it is not in a healthy condition nor performing its proper service to the community.

The exercise of these virtues in the home is not only training *for* good citizenship; it *is* good citizenship. If the home is as important a factor in our national life as this chapter has indicated, then one of the greatest opportunities for good citizenship, and one of the greatest duties of good citizenship, is that of making the home what it should be. In this each member of the family has his or her share of responsibility.

In what ways has household work been relieved of its drudgery since your mothers were girls?

What labor-saving devices have been introduced in your home?

Make a report on labor-saving devices for the household (see references).

What are some labor-saving household devices that could be made by boys and girls? Can your school help in such projects?

How may laws regulating or abolishing the liquor traffic affect the home? Laws regulating gambling?

What laws exist in your community to regulate amusements? How do these affect the home?

What is a "sweat shop"? Do sweat shops exist in your city? Are they regulated? In what ways do they affect home life?

What is a "living wage"?

In what ways does your school train home makers?

Write a theme on "Citizenship in the home."

Make a report on the importance of the home in rural life in America (see *Community Civics and Rural Life*, chaps. ix and x).

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life:

Series C: Lesson 20, "The Family and Social Control."

Lesson 32, "Housing for Workers."

For an extensive list of titles of publications relating to the home, send to the United States Bureau of Education for its Bulletin, 1919, No. 46, "Bibliography of Home Economics," especially section viii on "The Family," and section x on "The House and Household Activities." Among the many titles given in this are:

Earle, Alice Morse, *Home Life in Colonial Days* (Macmillan).

Gillette, J. M., *The Family and Society* (A. C. McClurg).

Thwing and Butler, *The Family* (Lothrop, Lee and Shepard Co.).

Gilman, Charlotte P., *The Home* (Doubleday, Page and Co.).

Talbot and Breckenridge, *The Modern Household* (Whitcomb and Barrows, Boston).

Addams, Jane, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (Macmillan).

Ellwood, Charles A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, chapters on the family (American Book Co.).

Scott, Rhea, *Home Labor-Saving Devices* (Lippincott).

Pamphlets published by the National Housing Association, 105 East 22nd St., New York. For example:

What bad housing means to the community.

One million people in small houses.

Industrial housing.

The districting of cities ("zoning").

Organizing the housing work of a community.

Pamphlets published by the American Civic Association, Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.:

City planning.

A good home for every wage earner.

What makes a town good.

The American City Bureau, 154 Nassau St., New York City. Write for publications on housing, etc.

Nolen, John: *New Ideals in the Planning of Cities, Towns, and Villages*. (American City Bureau, New York.)

Towne, E. T.: *Social Problems* (Macmillan), chap. xii, Marriage and Divorce.

Burch and Patterson, *American Social Problems* (Macmillan), chap. xxii, The Problem of Divorce.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION AND THE COMMUNITY

BOTH the efficiency and the democracy of a community depend upon the extent and the kind of education it affords to its people. In a nation whose aim is to afford to every citizen an equal opportunity to make the most of himself and whose people are self-governing, education must be widespread, it must develop the power of self-direction, it must train leaders, and it must enable the people to choose their leaders intelligently. When Governor Berkeley of Virginia reported to the king of England in 1671, "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years," he spoke for the autocratic form of government which a hundred years later led the colonies to revolt.

**Democracy
depends upon
education**

In a democracy government must be carried on largely by *means of* education. We had abundant illustration during the recent war of the extent to which our government not only depended upon highly educated men and women for leadership, but also educated the people to do the things necessary to win the war. (For illustrations, see pp. 89-91.) Since the aim of democratic government is to secure team work in public affairs, the people must have the tools of team work, such as a common language, and other knowledge that makes living and working together possible; they must have training that will enable them to contribute effectively to the community's work, and to understand the community's aims and ideals. And since government is con-

**Government
by means of
education**

trolled largely by public opinion, the people must have an intelligent understanding of the community's problems.

These facts explain why public education is the largest single item of expense in our government (except in time of war). In

The cost of education 1914 nearly 600 million dollars were spent for public elementary and high schools. Some 200 million dollars more were spent for private schools, and for universities,



A PIONEER SCHOOLHOUSE (1828)

colleges, and normal schools, some of which are public and some private.

If democracy is to be safe and efficient, every member must have a reasonable amount of education. Every state has a compulsory education law, though these laws vary greatly. In some states every child must attend school for seven years (7 to 14, or 8 to 15). In other states the period is less, sometimes as little as four years. In most of the states there is an additional period, usually of two years (14 to 16), during which children must remain in school unless they go to work. As a rule there are laws that forbid the

Inequality of educational requirements

employment of children in industry before the age of 14. In some states they may go to work as soon as they reach the age limit regardless of what their educational qualifications are; in others they must have completed the eight grades of the elementary school; in others they need only to be able to read and write; in still others they must have finished the third, fourth, or other grades, as the case may be. In Massachusetts pupils must remain in school until they have completed the fourth grade, and in New York until they can read and write, even if they remain until they are 21 to do it.

The length of the school term required by law varies from three months in three states to nine months in six states. Several states have no requirement in this matter. The length of time that a pupil must be in school during each of the compulsory years varies from sixty days to the full school term, whatever that may be. In most states, but not in all, the required attendance must be during consecutive days or weeks. The compulsory school laws are not well enforced in some states. The table on page 134 shows the number of children of school age in and out of school in the several states in 1915-1916. For the country as a whole, 17.4 per cent of the children of school age were not in school.

**Inequality of
educational
opportunity**

"School terms are so short in many states and compulsory attendance is so badly enforced that *the school life of the average person growing up in rural sections is only 4.5 school years of 140 days each*. In urban communities conditions are better, but far from satisfactory."¹

The table on page 135 shows the number of days the public schools were open, the average number of days of attendance by each pupil enrolled, and the rank of the state in each case, for each state in the school year 1915-1916.

¹ Bulletin, 1919, No. 4, U.S. Bureau of Education, "A Manual of Educational Legislation," p. 6.

SCHOOL YEAR AND ATTENDANCE

Average number of days public schools were kept open, average number of days of attendance by each pupil enrolled, and average per cent of attendance in each state in 1915-16 *

LOCATION	DAYS SCHOOLS WERE OPEN		DAYS ATTENDED		
	Rank	Number	Average	Per Cent	Rank
Alabama	38	135.0	84.8	62.9	43
Arizona	28	160.0	107.3	67.1	39
Arkansas	39	134.9	91.7	¹ 68.0	38
California	8	176.0	134.0	76.2	20
Colorado	21	167.0	122.0	75.1	27
Connecticut	3	183.2	142.5	77.8	17
Delaware	18	170.7	93.5	54.8	45
Florida	40	130.1	94.7	72.8	28
Georgia	37	136.7	98.9	69.0	36
Idaho	30	¹ 154.9	105.2	¹ 72.0	29
Illinois	23	164.0	147.3	80.8	1
Indiana	29	155.0	127.4	82.2	5
Iowa	19	170.0	128.8	75.8	22
Kansas	24	163.7	126.5	77.3	18
Kentucky	34	144.0	95.0	65.9	41
Louisiana	39	134.9	99.4	73.7	25
Maine	17	171.2	133.8	78.2	14
Maryland	6	178.0	124.0	69.7	34
Massachusetts	5	181.7	153.0	84.2	4
Michigan	15	¹ 172.0	139.9	81.3	6
Minnesota	20	167.7	127.3	75.9	21
Mississippi	43	² 123.0	² 75.4	² 61.3	44
Missouri	27	161.8	118.5	73.2	26
Montana	7	176.7	129.4	73.2	26
Nebraska	25	163.5	² 120.8	73.9	24
Nevada	22	166.1	124.9	75.2	23
New Hampshire	16	171.5	138.5	80.8	10
New Jersey	4	¹ 183.0	142.9	78.1	15
New Mexico	35	142.5	95.0	66.7	40
New York	2	190.2	154.3	81.1	8
North Carolina	41	124.2	85.4	68.7	37
North Dakota	14	¹ 172.6	119.5	69.2	35
Ohio	9	175.3	148.9	84.0	3
Oklahoma	32	152.0	95.9	63.1	42
Oregon	33	151.0	135.4	89.7	2
Pennsylvania	13	172.7	139.1	80.6	11
Rhode Island	1	194.3	154.8	79.7	13
South Carolina	44	108.5	72.9	67.1	39
South Dakota	19	170.0	118.9	70.0	32
Tennessee	42	123.8	87.3	70.5	31
Texas	38	135.0	91.8	68.0	38
Utah	26	163.0	132.5	81.2	7
Vermont	10	175.0	140.2	80.1	12
Virginia	36	141.0	98.4	69.8	33
Washington	11	174.6	136.2	78.0	16
West Virginia	38	135.0	96.3	71.3	30
Wisconsin	12	173.7	140.9	81.0	9
Wyoming	31	153.0	117.0	76.5	19
United States (continental)	—	160.3	120.9	75.5	—

* From statistics, U. S. Bureau of Education,

² Statistics, 1913-14.

³ Estimated.

¹ Statistics, 1914-15.

CHILDREN IN AND OUT OF SCHOOL

(U. S. Bureau of Education, statistics, 1915-16)

LOCATION	RANK	NUMBER IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS	PER CENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS	NUMBER IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS	PER CENT IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS	NUMBER NOT IN SCHOOL	PER CENT NOT IN SCHOOL
Alabama	43	514,601	69.1	17,187	2.5	208,815	28.4
Arizona	14	51,077	81.7	3,367	5.4	8,164	12.9
Arkansas	24	447,726	82.0	6,133	1.1	92,240	16.9
California	—	539,688	—	33,000	—	—	—
Colorado	20	184,471	82.0	7,000	3.1	33,651	14.9
Connecticut	—	234,609	82.1	52,293	—	1,419	—
Delaware	2	45,327	85.9	5,000	9.5	2,442	4.6
Florida	28	198,365	77.2	8,500	3.3	49,057	19.5
Georgia	41	667,635	73.2	10,000	1.1	234,592	25.7
Idaho	15	95,772	84.7	2,500	2.2	14,832	13.1
Illinois	19	1,084,640	71.8	213,760	14.0	215,730	14.2
Indiana	18	564,252	80.2	40,000	5.7	99,389	14.1
Iowa	1	525,579	90.0	42,000	7.2	15,699	2.8
Kansas	17	402,860	83.3	16,051	3.3	64,820	13.4
Kentucky	26	537,008	76.8	33,352	4.8	129,016	18.4
Louisiana	45	320,400	55.7	38,159	6.7	214,412	37.6
Maine	3	149,149	84.3	17,207	9.8	10,467	5.9
Maryland	7	243,077	68.0	30,000	23.6	84,387	8.4
Massachusetts	12	604,023	72.8	122,000	14.7	104,092	12.5
Michigan	6	620,861	82.8	72,982	9.5	57,651	7.7
Minnesota	21	481,583	78.0	38,000	6.2	97,733	15.8
Mississippi	31	492,756	77.6	7,500	1.1	135,014	21.3
Missouri	10	721,752	81.0	65,000	7.4	103,438	11.6
Montana	—	102,768	—	7,000	—	—	—
Nebraska	11	292,725	84.8	12,000	3.5	40,326	11.7
Nevada	35	13,358	76.3	300	1.7	3,848	22.0
New Hampshire	9	67,461	68.7	21,689	22.0	9,042	9.3
New Jersey	23	540,287	76.4	48,000	6.8	118,942	16.8
New Mexico	44	77,062	64.8	5,589	4.7	36,290	30.5
New York	27	1,625,777	69.5	278,000	11.8	432,388	18.7
North Carolina	13	640,246	84.0	25,000	3.2	87,994	12.8
North Dakota	40	151,647	73.0	3,500	1.6	52,864	25.4
Ohio	22	905,071	74.3	120,000	9.8	192,474	15.9
Oklahoma	32	515,493	76.4	14,915	2.2	145,190	21.4
Oregon	25	142,365	77.6	7,794	4.2	33,286	18.2
Pennsylvania	30	1,504,794	70.8	180,000	8.5	438,892	20.7
Rhode Island	34	89,879	63.2	21,646	15.2	30,627	21.6
South Carolina	33	415,766	76.6	10,000	1.9	116,817	21.5
South Dakota	42	134,136	69.5	4,500	2.2	54,771	28.3
Tennessee	4	610,235	88.8	27,000	4.0	49,752	7.2
Texas	39	1,017,083	73.0	28,000	2.0	343,143	25.0
Utah	8	108,359	86.0	7,000	5.4	10,699	8.6
Vermont	16	65,380	77.3	8,000	9.4	11,289	13.3
Virginia	38	486,134	73.1	17,568	2.6	172,014	24.3
Washington	37	245,419	73.0	10,261	3.0	80,468	24.0
West Virginia	29	313,873	78.2	4,839	1.3	82,407	20.5
Wisconsin	36	458,102	66.8	70,000	10.2	158,244	23.0
Wyoming	5	32,630	88.0	1,600	4.4	2,831	7.6
United States	—	20,351,687	75.8	1,820,210	6.8	4,675,079	17.4

Why would it not be more democratic to permit children to attend school or not as they or their parents wish?

Discuss the statement that "education makes people free." Compare this statement with a somewhat similar statement made on page 112.

What is the compulsory school age in your state?

Is wide variation in the compulsory school age among the different states a good thing? Why?

Is the compulsory school law rigidly enforced in your state? How is it enforced?

How much of each year must a child spend in school during the compulsory period in your state?

Investigate the reasons given by pupils in your community for leaving school before completing the course, and report.

What rank does your state hold with respect to length of term? to average daily attendance of pupils? (See table.)

What rank does your state hold with respect to number of children of school age in and out of school? (See table.)

Get from your teacher or principal the average daily attendance for each pupil enrolled in your school; in your city. Do you think this record could be improved?

It is advocated by many that schools should be open the year round. What advantages can you see in the plan? Debate the question.

Public education was long restricted to the elementary school. High schools were at first private academies designed to prepare **Development of the high school** for college the few who wished to continue their education. While they still continue to give preparation for college, their development in recent years has been largely for the benefit of the greater number of boys and girls who do not expect to go to college. Attendance at high school has rapidly increased in recent years. The high school not only affords to those who attend a better equipment for their life's work, but it also attracts the more ambitious young citizens who have a desire and the ability to assume places of leadership in the community.

What has been the history of high school development in your community?

What percentage of pupils in your community go to high school after completing the elementary school?

Write a theme or prepare an address on "What the high school does for my community." Or, "My reasons for going (or not going) to high school."

What is the cost per pupil in the high school in your community as compared with that in the elementary school?

Education must not only be within the reach of every citizen of a democracy, but it must be of a kind that will fit him to play well his part as a member of the community.



JORDAN HIGH SCHOOL, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

The public schools now give more attention than formerly to the physical education and welfare of the pupils. The wide prevalence of physical defects disclosed in the effort to raise an army during the recent war has emphasized the importance of this aspect of education. Physical fitness is the foundation of good citizenship. Our nation can be neither efficient nor fully democratic until the physical well-being of all its citizens is provided for, and the responsibility rests largely with the public school.

Investigations have shown an alarming number of physical defects among school children. Of 330,179 school children examined at one time in New York City, for example, 70

per cent were found to have such defects. New York City is by no means exceptional in this respect. In fact, figures seem to show that such defects are even more numerous in small places and rural communities than in large cities. This, however, is doubtless because large cities have been more progressive in correcting and preventing them; for a large proportion of the defects may be



A MODERN HIGH SCHOOL GYMNASIUM

corrected, and even prevented, if taken in time. They interfere with educational progress, reduce efficiency in later life, and cause loss both to the individual and to the community.

And so we find in progressive schools many provisions for the physical well-being and the physical education of the pupils that their parents did not have in their schools. More attention is given to the ventilation, heating, lighting, and sanitary arrangements of the buildings, and to the kinds of seats and desks furnished. Medical inspection of school children is now provided in most cities, and in some cases school nurses also. Pupils are fitted with glasses when needed, and teeth defects remedied in dental clinics.

Open-air schools are conducted for children who are not physically robust, and suitable lunches provided for the poorly nourished. No school is considered really good, now, that does not afford ample play facilities. Instruction is given in matters pertaining to health and hygiene, and activities arranged for to help pupils in the formation of correct health habits.



FREE MEDICAL INSPECTION

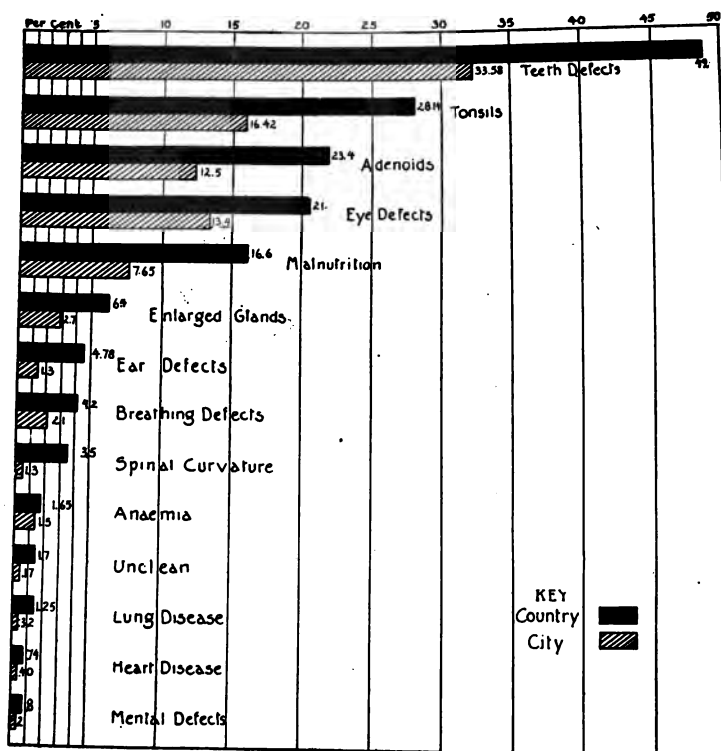
Observe the kinds of defects shown in the chart of "Health Defects" on page 140.

If you have medical inspection in your school, what defects are most commonly found? Compare with those shown in the chart. What percentage of pupils in your school have such defects? How many of these defects are preventable? By what means?

How is medical inspection conducted in your city schools? Who sends the inspectors? Who pays for them? To what extent do the homes of the community coöperate with the schools and the health inspectors in getting results from the inspection? What kind of coöperation is given?

What other provisions are made in your school for the physical well-being of the pupils? What can you say about the ventilation, heating, lighting, seating, of your school in their relation to the health and comfort of the pupils?

If the law requires school attendance, why should it also require good health conditions in the school?



HEALTH DEFECTS

City children and country children compared, percentage average of all available statistics. Note that the better showing of city children is not due, necessarily, to their superiority over country children, but to the better care taken of them by the community.

To what extent is irregular attendance in your school due to illness? To what extent is this illness unnecessary?

Who is responsible for the health conditions in your school? What can you do about correcting improper provision for health in the school?

What health habits is your school helping you to form? How does it help you to form them? How do you cooperate in the matter?

What volunteer agencies in your community coöperate with your school for the promotion of health education? Do you belong to any such organization? If so, describe its work.



THE LUNCH OF MILK IN A SCHOOL
FOR TUBERCULAR CHILDREN

Good air, sunlight, warm clothing, frequent nourishment

It is a part of the business of education to fit every citizen to earn a living, for every efficient citizen must be self-supporting and able to contribute effectively to the productive work of the community. The interdependence of all occupations in modern industry and the necessity for every worker to be a specialist make training essential for every worker who is to attain success for himself and contribute his full share to the community's work (see Chapter XVI).

**Education for
vocational
fitness**

The recent war emphasized strongly the nation's dependence upon trained workers in every field of industry. One of the direct

results was the passage by Congress, in 1917, of the Smith-Hughes Act, providing for national aid for vocational instruction for persons over 14 years of age who have already entered upon, or are preparing to enter, some trade. Every state in the Union has met the conditions imposed by this law.

**National aid
for vocational
education**

The Smith-Hughes Act created a Federal Board for Vocational Education to consist of the Secretaries of the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, the United States Commissioner of Education, and three citizens appointed by the President, one to represent labor interests, one commercial and manufacturing interests, and the third agricultural interests. The law appropriates national funds to be given to the state for the establishment of vocational schools and for the training of teachers for these schools; but each state must appropriate an amount equal to that received from the national government. Each state must also have a board for vocational education, through which the national board has its dealings with the state.

It is not the duty of the regular elementary and high schools, however, to cultivate special vocational skills; not to turn out trained farmers, or mechanics, and so on. But the work of these schools should be such that their graduates will be better farmers, or mechanics, or lawyers, or doctors, or engineers, or teachers, than they would be without it. First of all, these schools should produce workers who are physically fit for the work they enter. They should educate the hand and the eye along with the brain. They should cultivate habits of working together, give instruction regarding the significance of all work in community and national life, and by every means possible prepare the pupil to make a wise choice of vocation. Moreover, the schools should provide a breadth of education that will help to "transmute days of dreary work into happier lives."

**Breadth of
preparation
for vocational
life**

The life we live, whether on the farm or in the city, is full of science and history, civics and economics, arithmetic and geography, poetry and art. The modern school helps the pupil to find these things in his daily life

**Making life
educational**

and, having found them, to apply them to living for his profit and enjoyment. A recent writer has said,

What is the true end of American education? Is it life or a living? . . . Education finds itself face to face with a bigger thing than life or the getting of a living. It is face to face with a big enough thing to die for in France, a big enough thing to go to school for in America. . . . Neither life nor the getting of a living, but *living together*, this must be the single *public* end of a common public education hereafter.¹



DOMESTIC SCIENCE IN A HIGH SCHOOL

The more nearly the conditions of living in the school community correspond to the conditions of living in the community outside of school, the better the training afforded for living together. In many schools the spirit and methods of community life prevail, even to the extent of school government in which the pupils participate.

**Education
for living
together**

Of this community pupils and teachers are members with certain common interests. Coöperation is the keynote of the community life. The realization of this coöperation is seen in the classrooms, in study halls, in the assembly room, in the corridors, on the playground. It manifests itself in the method of preparing and conducting recitations; in the care of school

¹ D. R. Sharp, "Patrons of Democracy," in *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1919, p. 650.

property; in protecting the rights of younger children; in maintaining the sanitary conditions of the building and grounds; in the elimination of cases of "discipline" and of irregularity of attendance; in the preparation



A CITY SCHOOL USED AS A COMMUNITY CENTER

A community assembly at the Park View School, Washington, D.C. An election of community officers is being held. Note the boy scouts and the baseball team, both identified with this center, on the stage.

and conduct of opening exercises, school entertainments, and graduating exercises; in beautifying the school grounds; in the making of repairs and equipment for "our school"; in fact, in every aspect of the school life.¹

What schools in your city, if any, come under the operation of the Smith-Hughes Act? How much money do they receive yearly from the national government? For what vocations do they prepare? Describe the work of these schools and show how it differs from the work of other schools.

¹"Civic Education in Elementary Schools," p. 31, United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1915, No. 17.

Find out what you can about your state board for vocational education. How much money does it receive from the national government? Are the vocational schools operated under this law popular? Why does the national government require the state to contribute at least an equal amount to that given by it? Do you think this is a good arrangement? Why?

What does your school do (if not a Smith-Hughes Act school) to fit you for vocational life?

Discuss the meaning of the statement that "it is not the duty of the regular elementary and high schools to cultivate special vocational skills."

To what extent does your school "make life educational"?

What is the meaning of the statement that the true end of education is "neither life nor the getting of a living, but living together"?

In what respects does "community life" within your school differ from that outside of school? What differences and similarities exist between the government of your school and that of the community outside of school? In what respects do you think they should be more alike?

Look up different plans of pupil participation in school government (see Readings). Are you in favor of any of these plans? Why?

Are schoolhouses in your city used as "community centers"? If so, what is done in these centers? If not, do you think they should be? Why?

Report on the organization and value of the community center (see Readings).

What is done in your community for the education of adults?

Are there any "part-time schools" in your city? What does this mean?

Report on the public library as an educational institution.

What other educational institutions are there in your city?

What are some of the greatest needs of your city schools at the present time? Why have they not been promptly provided for?

The pioneer family was dependent at first upon its own efforts for the education of its children. When other families came, a schoolhouse was built, a teacher employed, and the work of teaching the elements of knowledge was handed over to the school. This was the origin of the "district school," which is characteristic of pioneer conditions. As the population grew and local government was organized, the unit of local government tended to become the unit for school administration. In New England this was the "town" or township; in the South it was the county; in the West it

was sometimes the township and sometimes the county, or else a combination of the two. In a large number of the western states, however, and in a few of the eastern states, the district school persists in many rural communities, a relic of pioneer conditions. It is often felt that it is more democratic for each district to administer its own school, subject only to the laws of the state.

The chief advantages of the township organization over the district system are that all the schools of the township are administered by a single plan, the taxes are apportioned to the schools according to needs, and pupils may be transferred from one school to another at convenience. In New England two or three townships are sometimes united into a "union district" supervised by a single superintendent.

Under the county organization all the schools of the county are under the management of a county board and, usually, a county superintendent, who is elected by the people, or appointed by the county board, the governor, or the state commissioner of education. Election of the county superintendent by the people is losing favor on the ground that there is less assurance of securing a highly trained leader.

Among the advantages of the county system are greater economy, more nearly equal educational opportunity for all children of the county, and better supervision because of the larger funds available for this purpose. It is under the county system of organization that the movement for *school consolidation* is progressing most rapidly. By this is meant the union of a number of small, poorly equipped schools into a larger, well-graded, and well-equipped school. Its advantages may best be suggested by an example.

In Randolph County, Indiana, there were, in 1908, 128 one-room schools in the open country, with an attendance of from 12 to 60 pupils doing grade work only; 6 two-room schools in hamlets, with grade work only; 2

three-room schools in villages, with grade work and two years of high school work with a six months' term; 3 four-room village schools, with grade work and three years of high school work with a six months' term; 1 six-room school in a town, with grade work and four years of high school work with an eight months' term.

By consolidation, 113 one-room schools and 4 two-room schools were supplanted by 20 consolidated schools with two grade teachers; 6 with four grade teachers; 6 with five grade teachers; 2 with six grade teachers; and 1 with eight grade teachers — a total of 86 grade teachers doing the work formerly done by 148 teachers, and doing it better. Fifteen of the schools have a four-year high school course with an eight months' term. For the five-year period preceding consolidation not more than half of the eighth-grade pupils attended high school; after consolidation an average of 96 per cent of the eighth-grade pupils went to high school.

The pupils are transported to and from school in hacks or motor-busses heated in winter. The school buildings are equipped with running water, modern heating and sanitation, telephone, rest rooms for pupils and teachers, gymnasiums and outdoor physical apparatus, physical training and athletic competition being carried on under supervision. The courses of study have been enriched, increased attention is given to vocational work, and music and art receive attention impossible in the district schools. Eleven of the schools have orchestras, and concerts are held which the community as well as the schools attend. There are auditoriums used for community lectures and concerts, Sunday-school conventions, community sings, parent-teachers' meetings, and exhibits of various kinds.

Report on school life in colonial New England; in colonial Virginia.

What were the methods of education in pioneer days in your own state and locality — kinds of buildings, length of school term, whether public or private, methods of teaching, etc.?

What does the family do for the education of children that the school can not do? What does the school do that the family can not?

Outside of the cities, do you have the "district school," the township organization, or the county organization of schools in your state?

What are the advantages of graded over ungraded schools?

Debate the question, "Resolved, that the independent district school is more democratic than the organization of schools on a county-wide plan."

To what extent is school consolidation taking place in your state? in your county? What results has it achieved?

What is the method of selecting the county superintendent in your state? Do you think it is a good method? Why? What is his term of office? Does he have anything to do with your city schools?

Do you think there should be closer coöperation between the schools of your city and those of the county outside of the city? Why?

Because conditions in the city are so different from those in rural communities, city school systems are usually entirely independent of the school system of the county in which they are located. Cities acquire this power to manage their own schools from the state, either through the city charter or special school laws.

Every city has its *board of education*, usually elected by the people, sometimes appointed by the mayor or council (in Washington by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia). Boards of education vary greatly in size, but there is a tendency toward the small board of about seven members. In most cities the boards serve without pay. In most cities, also, they are quite independent of the regular financial authorities of the city government, having power given to them by the state to levy taxes and make appropriations for school purposes. This, however, is not true in all cities; in New York City, for example, the board of education merely submits its needs to the *board of estimate* of the city, which levies the taxes and makes appropriations for all city purposes, including education. In practically every city the board of education appoints the *superintendent of schools*, who is the trained director of the work of the schools, which is carried on under him by assistant superintendents, supervisors of special subjects and activities, principals, and teachers.

Where the management of a school system fails to work smoothly, it is often because of failure to distinguish clearly between the proper duties of a board of education and those of the superintendent. The board of education corresponds to the board of directors of a business corporation (see page 287). It represents the citizens, who correspond to the stockholders of the business corporation. It is the business of the board of education, acting

as the representatives of the citizens, to determine the general policies to be followed by the school system, just as the board of directors, acting as the representatives of the stockholders, determine the policies of the business corporation. For the execution of these policies the board of directors depends upon a trained *manager* whom they employ for that purpose. In the same way the board of education employs a superintendent who is, or should be, an expert in educational matters, and upon whom the board should depend for the actual management of the schools.

The representatives of the people cannot perform directly the large duties of carrying on the school system. They must employ technically trained officers to conduct the schools. To these technically trained officers they must look for proper information on which to base their decisions, and they must be prepared to intrust to those officers the powers and responsibilities which attach to the daily conduct of school work. . . .

No board member should teach classes. No board member should act as principal of a school. No board member should negotiate with a publisher of textbooks, nor should he pass on the availability of a given book for use in a school. No board member should examine teachers with a view to determining their qualifications for appointment. No board member should plan a school building. No board member should write the course of study. . . . It is the duty of the members of the board to see that technical officers do the work of the system, but the board should not do this work itself. It is a public board, created to see that a certain piece of public work is done, not a group of technical officers created to do the work.¹

There are many cities, however, where boards of education attempt to do just such things as these, and make of their superintendents little more than clerks. This illustrates one of the present weaknesses in our democratic government. In our zeal to govern ourselves, either directly or through our representatives, we often overlook the necessity for trained leadership and direction. We want democracy, but we want *efficient* democracy; and this can be obtained

**Importance
of trained
leadership**

¹ Report of the Committee on the Relation between Boards of Education and Superintendents, Department of Superintendence, National Education Association.

only by placing confidence in trained leaders to do our technical work for us.

Describe the *administrative* organization of your own school. What does this mean?

Give illustrations to show how the principal of your school secures coöperation among the various rooms of the school. How the superintendent secures coöperation among the several schools of the city.

What is the purpose of a parent-teacher association? If there are such associations in your city, what do they do?

To whom is the janitor of your school responsible? Is this as it should be? Why?

In the quotation given above, it is stated that "no board member should plan a school building." What reason could be given for this?

How are teachers appointed in your city? What qualifications are required for appointment?

How are textbooks selected in your school? Give arguments for and against state adoption of textbooks.

Is there a clear distinction between the duties of the superintendent and those of the board of education in your city? Give illustrations to prove your answer.

What are the duties of the board of education in your city? Of the superintendent of schools? Of the principal of your school?

How is your city board of education chosen? Who are its members? Their term of office? Are they paid or unpaid? If paid, how much?

Give arguments for election of the board by the people; for appointment by the head of the city government or by a court; for and against a large board; for a paid board; for an unpaid board.

What is the rate of school tax in your city? Who fixes this rate? Is there a limit to the tax that may be levied for school purposes? What is the limit, if any? Who fixes the limit? Why is such a limit desirable?

How is money raised for school buildings? Why is this method used for this purpose, and not for paying teachers?

The schools of the local community are a part of the state school system. Education is considered a duty of the state, though it is administered largely by local officers.

State organization for education

The constitutions of all states make provision for it. State control and support of education are necessary if there is to be equality of educational opportunity for all chil-

dren of the state. Every state has a department of education, and in most states each local community receives a portion of a general state tax for school purposes. The state departments of



STATE EDUCATION BUILDING, ALBANY, N.Y.

Occupied by the officers of the State Department of Education and of the University of the State of New York.

education differ widely from one another both in organization and in the effectiveness of their work. In most cases there is a state board of education, composed sometimes of certain state officials, including the governor and the state superintendent of education, sometimes of citizens appointed for this purpose alone by the governor or (in four states) by the legislature. In only one state is it elected by popular vote. In all states there is also a chief educational officer, usually called state superintendent or commissioner of education or of public instruction.

In several states women hold this position. The state superintendent is sometimes elected by popular vote, sometimes appointed by the state board of education or by the governor. Under the state superintendent there are deputy superintendents, heads of departments, and supervisors of the various branches of educational work.



CAMPUS OF THE STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, MADISON, WISCONSIN

While city schools are subject to state laws, these laws usually permit a much larger degree of self-management to city schools than to those of rural communities. While the county superintendent is in most cases directly responsible to the state superintendent, this is not true, as a rule, of the superintendents of large cities. Cities are usually allowed greater discretion in determining the course of study and in the choice of textbooks.

"In extent of duties and powers" state boards of education "vary all the way from near zero to complete control of the state educational interests. The Michigan state board, outside of its duties in control of the state normal schools, has little power

except in granting teachers' certificates; the New York state board has supervision of all educational agencies in the state. . . . It has been urged that the New York state **Powers of the board is going too far in exercising supervision state board** over private institutions. But it should be definitely understood that in a very important sense there is no such thing as a



THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

One of the oldest universities in the United States, having been founded by Thomas Jefferson.

private educational institution; an educational institution is by the nature of its function essentially public and should be responsive to the needs of the public which it serves. Every educational agency in the state is a part of the state's educational system and should be under the general administrative supervision of the state board of education."¹

In many states there are state courses of study that are followed more or less closely by all schools of the state. In New York State the examination questions used in all schools are prepared by the state educational authorities. In a number of states there is a "state adoption" of all textbooks used in the

¹ A. C. Monahan, "Organization of State Departments of Education," pp. 10, 11. U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1915, No. 5.

state. Some states furnish textbooks free, and in two or three cases even print all textbooks.

States have normal schools to maintain the supply of trained teachers for the elementary schools. High school teachers more commonly receive their training in colleges and universities. A number of states have state universities and agricultural colleges at which attendance is free for citizens of the state. In some cases these higher

**Higher edu-
cational
institutions**



STUDYING GAS ENGINES AND AUTOMOBILES IN
THE ARMY SCHOOL

The policy of our government is to train enlisted men not only for effective military service but also for successful civil life after their term of military service has expired.

educational institutions are under the control of the state board of education, sometimes under that of separate boards of trustees. There are also state schools for defectives and delinquents (see Chapter XXII).

The first national support to public education was given by the Ordinance of 1787 under which the Northwest Territory was organized. It provided that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness

of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." As new states were organized from this Territory and from the public lands acquired later, grants of land were made to them by the national government for school purposes. Grants of

National support of education



IN A NAVAL MACHINE SHOP

The Navy has schools for its enlisted men both on land and on shipboard. As in the Army, the purpose is to give not only a technical training but also a broad education for citizenship.

public land were also made to the states for the establishment of agricultural colleges, and money appropriated by Congress to assist the states in promoting agricultural education.

The United States Bureau of Education, in the Department of the Interior, was created by Congress to promote the interests of education throughout the United States. To this end its specialists gather information relating to the progress of education, study its problems, and publish numerous reports and bulletins for the information of the people

U.S. Bureau of Education

and the guidance of those engaged in educational work. This national bureau has no authority over the schools of the country, except those of Alaska.

Reference has already been made (page 141) to the work of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. The Federal govern-



REHABILITATION OF INJURED
EX-SERVICE MAN

This man is learning acetylene welding. His artificial arm is so constructed that he can use it effectively. He is said to be the most skillful member of his class.

Federal educational activities ment, through its Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior, conducts schools for the Indians on their reservations. It conducts a naval academy at Annapolis, Md., and a military academy at West Point, N.Y., for the training of officers in army and navy. Under the United States Shipping Board there are training schools for men desiring to enter our enlarged merchant marine. Finally, mention should be made of the provision now made for the education of enlisted men in the United States

army and on shipboard in the navy. This education is partly technical in character, and partly general, and is designed not only to make better soldiers and sailors, but also to equip them for vocations and for citizenship in the community when their terms of enlistment are over.

The creation of a United States Department of Education is being seriously agitated, bills having been introduced in Congress for the purpose. In such a department, if **Federal department of education** created, will doubtless be brought together under a single direction most of the various federal agencies that now exist for the promotion of education, such as the Bureau of Education, the Federal Board for Vocational

Education, and others, perhaps including the Children's Bureau in the Labor Department. As matters now stand there is a great deal of duplication of effort, and even crossing of purposes, among these agencies. But the service of such department, if it is created, will probably consist chiefly in setting up educational standards for the guidance of the states, and in rendering assistance to the states when it seems to be needed, as in the case of industrial and agricultural education already mentioned.

The people of the United States are quite firmly fixed in their conception of education as a duty and a privilege of the state, and object to tendencies on the part of the national government to assume control over it. At the same time, because of the interdependence and unity of our national life, there is great need for more uniform standards of education among the states than now exist.

What provision does your state constitution make for education?

What is the cost of the public schools of your state? Of your city? What are the sources of revenue for each? What part of the cost of education in your city is met by your state?

Describe the organization of your state department of education. Compare it with that of neighboring states.

What are the powers of your state board of education? Compare with the powers of the boards of neighboring states.

Who is the chief educational officer of your state (his name)? How is he chosen? His term of office?

Why should your city have a greater degree of self-management in educational matters than rural communities of the state?

Just what is meant by the quotation in the text that "there is no such thing as a private educational institution"?

Are there many private schools in your city? Are they subject to control by city or state government?

Do your city and state find it easy to obtain enough well-trained teachers? If not, why?

What state normal schools are there in your state? Where are they? What are the requirements for admission? Are there any private normal

schools in your city, or any that are under the management of your city board of education?

What public institutions for defectives and delinquents are there in your state? Where are they?

What are the requirements for admission to your state university? To your state agricultural college?

Why are you going (or not going) to college?

Write a theme on "What our state university does for our state."

Send for and examine a "List of Available Publications of the United States Bureau of Education."

Debate the question, "Resolved, that the public schools of the United States should be under the control of the national government."

What arguments are given for the creation of a Federal Department of Education?

How does one obtain admission to the United States military and naval academies? May one become an officer in the army or navy in any other way?

Report on the educational work for enlisted men in the army and navy.

READINGS

In *Lessons in Community and National Life*:

Series A: Lesson 11, Education as encouraged by industry.

Series C: Lesson 8, Preventing waste of human beings.

In *Long's American Patriotic Prose*:

Educated men in politics (Grover Cleveland), pp. 255-257.

The educated man and democratic ideals (Charles E. Hughes), pp. 286-288.

In Foerster and Pierson's *American Ideals*:

The American scholar (R. W. Emerson), pp. 133-155.

Democracy in education (P. P. Claxton), 156-157.

State constitution and state school law.

Reports of local and state departments of education.

Publications of the United States Bureau of Education.

Latest annual report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education. These annual reports contain excellent summaries of every phase of education in the United States and in many foreign countries.

Bulletins. Send to the Bureau for List of Available Publications. These bulletins relate to every important aspect of education, school organization and administration, etc. Some numbers relate to vocational education. Others relate to health and school sanitation. The "Health Education Series" of leaflets will be found useful and include, among others:

"Diet for School Children."

"Summer Health and Play School."

"Teaching Health."

"Further Steps in Teaching Health."

"The Lunch Hour at School."

Teachers of civics will find the following bulletins helpful:

1915, No. 17, Civic education in elementary schools as illustrated in Indianapolis (Government Printing Office, 5c).

1915, No. 23, The teaching of community civics (Government Printing Office, 10c).

1916, No. 28 The social studies in secondary education (Government Printing Office, 10c).

1917, No. 46, The public school system of San Francisco, chapter on civic education.

1917, No. 51, Moral values in secondary education.

1918, No. 15, Educational survey of Elyria, Ohio, chapter on civic education (Government Printing Office, 30c).

1919, No. 50, Part 3, Civic education in the public school system of Memphis.

Send also to the Bureau for list of references on pupil self-government. On this subject consult your public librarian.

King, Irving, *Social Aspects of Education* (1913). "A book of sources and original discussions with annotated bibliographies." This book contains chapters on various topics mentioned in the text, and will be found useful because of the reproduction of discussions by authorities on the various subjects and for the bibliographies. It contains chapters on:

"The Social Relations of Home and School" (chap. iv).

"The School as a Center of Social Life in the Community" (chap. v).

"The Social Need for Continuing the Education of the Adult" (chap. vi).

"Industrial and Vocational Education" (chap. ix).

"Pupil Self-Government" (chap. xvi).

Welling, Richard, *Some Facts about Pupil Self-Government*. A pamphlet published by the School Citizens' Committee, 2 Wall Street, New York City.

A good summary in favor of self-government.

Earle, Alice Morse, *Child Life in Colonial Days* (Macmillan).

Dewey, John, *The School and Society* and *Schools of To-morrow*.

CHAPTER XI

THE COMMUNITY'S HEALTH

THERE is nothing else that concerns a community so much as the health of its citizens. Of more than three million men between the ages of 21 and 31 examined for military service in 1918 only about 65 per cent were passed as physically fit to fight for their country.¹ The remaining 35 per cent were either totally unfit for any kind of service, or were capable only of the less strenuous activities connected with warfare. Most of the defects found could have been remedied, or prevented altogether, if proper care had been taken in earlier years.

**Physical
defects and
the national
defense**

The nation loses by this physical unfitness in other ways than in fighting power. Investigations have shown that wage earners lose from their work an average of from six to nine days each year on account of sickness.² The cost to the individual in loss of wages, doctors' bills, and otherwise, is a serious matter, to say nothing of the absolute want to which it reduces many families and the suffering entailed. In addition to this, the country loses the wage earner's production. Sometimes death brings to the family permanent loss of income, and to the nation complete loss of the product of the wage earner's work. The nation spends large sums of money every year in providing for dependent families and individuals. It was estimated in 1910 that the loss to the nation from illness amounted to three quarters of a billion dollars.

**Physical
defects and
the nation's
industry**

¹ Public Health Reports, U.S. Public Health Service, vol. 34, No. 13, p. 633 (March 28, 1919).

² Public Health Reports, U.S. Public Health Service, vol. 34, No. 16, pp. 777-782 (April 18, 1919).

The nation loses a great deal (how much can not be calculated) from the physical unfitness of many who are able to keep on working, but who are not fully efficient because of more or less serious bodily defects or ailments. **Education and physical defects** Even in school, pupils who lag behind in their studies are often suffering from physical defects of which their



"SETTING UP" EXERCISES IN THE ARMY

teachers, and even they themselves, may be unaware. Perhaps they are ill-nourished, or have defective teeth, or vision, or hearing, or sleep in poorly ventilated rooms. The community does not get its money's worth from its schools if its children are not in physical condition to profit by them. In a similar manner the earning and productive power of older citizens is reduced.

If each of 50 million wage earners in the United States lost 6 days from work in a year, how many days' work would the nation lose? How many years of work would this amount to?

At the average wage of a laborer in your community how much would be lost in wages in a year? At the average wage of a mechanic in your community?

Get information regarding the cost of a long case of sickness, such as typhoid fever, in some family of your acquaintance (perhaps your own), including doctor's bills, medicines, time lost from work, etc.

What would such expense mean to a family living on as low wages as those mentioned on page 214?

How many days of school are lost in your school in a year from sickness?



HOW HANDS AND FEET ARE LOST

Much physical disability and loss of life are due to accidental injury. In 1917 approximately 22,000 persons were **Injury from accident** killed in industrial accidents in the United States, and about half a million seriously injured. Besides those killed and injured in industry, there were in the same year approximately 55,000 deaths and 1,500,000 injuries from accidents outside of industry — on the street, in the home, and elsewhere. More children from ten to fourteen

years of age were killed by accident than died from all epidemic diseases, such as scarlet fever, measles, diphtheria, and the like. Twenty thousand children from one to fourteen years of age are killed by accident annually. The following table shows the percentage of deaths of young children from accidental causes for the year 1917:

CAUSE OF ACCIDENT.	UNDER 5 YEARS	5 TO 9 YEARS	10 TO 14 YEARS
All causes.....	100 per cent	100 per cent	100 per cent
Burns.....	40.2 per cent	21.9 per cent	9.3 per cent
Drowning.....	5.2 per cent	14.5 per cent	22 per cent
Vehicles.....	10.2 per cent	39 per cent	32.5 per cent
Falls.....	8.1 per cent	6.7 per cent	6.9 per cent
Firearms.....	1.3 per cent	4.3 per cent	11.5 per cent
Poisoning.....	21.1 per cent	3.9 per cent	3.6 per cent
All others.....	13.6 per cent	9.7 per cent	14.2 per cent

Most of the accidents to life and limb are avoidable. Their number has been greatly reduced in the last few years, and will be still further reduced when sufficient attention is given to the matter. It requires coöperation on the part of all of us. In some cities, as in St. Louis, certain kinds of accidents to children have been reduced almost to the vanishing point by persistent instruction in the schools, leading to *coöperation on the part of the children themselves*. Courses of instruction in "first aid" have been introduced in many schools, promoted largely by the American Red Cross. This organization claims in a recent report that "first aid instructions given to swimmers by American Red Cross instructors in all parts of the country has resulted in seven years in the reduction of deaths from drowning from 10,000 to 5,000 annually, and it is the aim of the organization to broaden the scope of its work to reduce the number of deaths from other accidental causes."

Street accidents have become alarmingly frequent with the growth of cities and the increase in the use of automobiles. Cities **Street accidents** have ordinances to regulate traffic and to prevent street accidents, and the work of the traffic police has reached a high degree of efficiency in some cities. But



LEARNING TO SWIM

Out of every 100 deaths from accident in one year among children from 10 to 14 years of age 22 were from drowning.

traffic accidents will continue to occur until both pedestrians and drivers of vehicles observe the regulations with scrupulous care.

Much has been done to increase the safety of industrial workers by the installation of safety devices of many kinds, and **Industrial accidents** by legislation requiring them, and making the employer liable for damages in case of accident to his employees. Both the frequency and the severity of industrial



**STREET ACCIDENTS HAVE BECOME ALARMINGLY FREQUENT WITH THE
INCREASE OF USE OF AUTOMOBILES**

Pictures of the same corner in Washington, D.C., a generation ago and at present.

accidents have been greatly reduced by these means. The work of the Bureau of Mines in the United States Department of the Interior is directed largely to the elimination of accidents in mines. A number of voluntary organizations exist for the promotion of "safety first," among them being the National Safety Council which is carrying on a widespread campaign of education.



WOMEN'S LIFE-SAVING CORPS IN ACTION

Red Cross Life Savers of the San Francisco Y.W.C.A.

Study the table showing percentage of deaths from accidental causes (p. 163). In what ways may children coöperate in preventing accident from each of these causes? Which causes are most prevalent in the period under 5 years? In the period from 5 to 9 years? From 10 to 14 years? What possible reasons can you give for the prevalence of these causes in these particular periods?

Where would you go, or look, to find the record of personal accidents in your city? Get this record and find from it:

The number of accidents during the period of the record.

The number of injuries; the number of deaths.

The causes of accidents. Arrange them in order of their frequency.

Classify these accidents as (1) industrial, (2) street, and (3) home accidents.

Number of accidents to children.

Causes of children's accidents.

Kinds of accidents that are increasing in frequency; kinds that are decreasing.

Calculate the percentage of accidents according to causes, and compare with table on page 163.

What measures are being taken in your city to reduce the number of accidents?



THE SAFETY COMMITTEE AT WORK

Street accidents to children have been greatly reduced in some cities by organized coöperation by school boys and girls.

What part are you taking in accident prevention? What part is your school taking?

Do you have first aid instruction? If not, ascertain from your local Red Cross chapter how it might be obtained

Make a statement of the regulations for the guidance of automobiles and other vehicles, and of pedestrians, in your city. Illustrate by means of a diagram on the blackboard.

Report on the work of the National Safety Council.

Report on the work of the United States Bureau of Mines.

What is meant by an "employers' liability act?" Is there such a law in your state? Have employers always been favorable to such laws? Why? Make a study of safety devices used in various industries in your city.

Disease also tends to increase with the growth of communities.

Health conditions in cities While recent studies show that certain physical defects are more prevalent in rural communities than in cities, this is doubtless because cities have done more to combat them.

The city is in contrast with the country in its personal public health work. Publicity of cases is readily obtained in the city, and their concealment is difficult. The concentration of population makes inspections and visitations easy. Clinics and hospitals provide for their isolation and care, and public health nurses search out the afflicted persons and persuade them to accept treatments. Babies and children in the poorer sections are supervised, and facilities are provided for them to obtain healthful food. . . .

The environmental conditions in a modern city are often more favorable than they are in the country. The tenement house laws require a certain amount of window space for light and ventilation. The city government prevents overcrowding, requires the ventilation of public meeting places, removes the sewage and garbage, and provides a pure water supply.¹

A study made by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1913 of the 227 cities with a population of 25,000 or more, showed that the larger the cities, the greater the effort to protect health. And yet,

A fifth of the cities made no inspection of school children; over a third did not offer the ordinary laboratory diagnosis for the commoner communicable diseases; over a fourth made no effort to educate in health matters; nearly three-fourths had no housing law; nineteen-twentieths had no concern with the hygiene of industry; over a half had no proper organization to combat infant mortality; and less than a quarter had a coherent program against tuberculosis.

What is meant by "vital statistics"? What is their importance to your community? Who collects them? Where are they recorded? Are they accurately collected and recorded in your city?

¹ Dr. Frank Overton, in *Public Health and Hygiene*, pp. 555, 556 (Lee and Febiger, Philadelphia; edited by Dr. W. H. Park).

What do the latest reported vital statistics of your city show? What vital statistics are reported in your daily newspaper?

How is the death rate determined? The birth rate? How does the death rate in your city compare with that in other cities of about the same size? With that of your state as a whole? Is your city death rate increasing or decreasing? Your state death rate?

In what sections of your city is the death rate highest? the lowest? Give reasons. Show on map.

What are the principal causes of death in your city? Which of these can be classed as "preventable"?

What was the nature of the prevailing sicknesses in your city during the last year? What per cent of these were contagious? List the contagious diseases reported in the order of their prevalence in your city.

Does your city fall in the class of cities that do or do not provide for the things mentioned by the Russell Sage Foundation in the paragraph quoted above?

The first essential to good health is pure air. People often needlessly deny themselves of it by improper ventilation of their homes and meeting places. It is often hard to get **Pure air and** where people live in crowded districts and work **housing** all day indoors. Frightful overcrowding of sleeping and living rooms has been common in industrial centers and in sections of cities occupied by newly arrived immigrants. Housing laws now usually contain provisions designed to prevent this, such as those prescribing the window area and the amount of air space to be allowed per person. Indifference on the part of builders and owners of tenements, and ignorance on the part of those who occupy them, often make such laws ineffective.

A careful student of housing conditions points out that the average health officer too often learns of bad conditions only when some one makes complaint, and is too often **Lack of power of health officer** in ignorance of the places that most need attention. The task of thorough inspection is too great for the small force of inspectors provided by the city. The health officer rarely has in hand the health record of a given building — the complaints that have been made against it

before, the amount and kinds of sickness that have occurred in it, and so on. He rarely has sufficient authority to act when he finds bad conditions — to stop construction, to hire workmen to enter and remedy conditions whether the occupants or owners

wish it or not, or to secure punishment of those convicted of violating housing regulations. He almost never has any part in the planning of buildings, or of passing upon plans with respect to their sanitary provisions.



TENEMENT AIR SHAFT

The long shaft, 28 inches wide, furnishes all the light and air received by a dozen or more sleeping rooms.

The time to correct defects in buildings, from the sanitary point of view, is when the plans are made. . . . It should not be possible in any city to erect a new building until the plans have had careful examination by the health department, and had the approval of the health officer. The cities where this is the practice today are the exception rather than the rule, and such an important change in procedure will

encounter strenuous opposition from building interests. . . .¹

It may seem to be nobody's business but our own how we ventilate our homes. But bad air lessens vitality and nurtures disease, causing loss to the community. Colds, influenza, and tuberculosis (of which more than a million people are constantly sick in the United States) are nourished in bad air and spread by contact, or by food handled by their victims. People who live in foul air at home mingle with others at church, in theaters, at school, in the court room, and in other public meeting places, which are themselves often poorly ventilated. It is strange that courtrooms, where justice is administered, schools where children are pre-

Bad air and the spread of disease

disease, causing loss to the community. Colds, influenza, and tuberculosis (of which more than a million people are constantly sick in the United

¹ Lawrence Veiller, in *Public Health and Hygiene*, pp. 302, 303.

pared for life, churches where people worship, and theaters where they seek recreation, are so often badly ventilated.

One of the principal purposes of city planning (see page 121) is to make living conditions more wholesome by relieving congestion and letting in the air and sunlight. Parks and playgrounds are created to afford opportunity to old and young to spend more time out of doors. Adequate transportation facilities enable workers in office and factory to live in the more open suburban portions of the city. In old, established cities city planning has often meant tearing down whole districts, widening streets, and providing open spaces, at great cost. In younger cities all these things can be provided for in advance by wise planning.

Marked improvement of housing conditions has resulted from the enactment of city ordinances and state laws for their regulation, from the supervision of tenements by municipal housing bureaus and inspectors from the department of health, from the activities of voluntary associations for the promotion of better housing (see page 118), from the awakening of employers to the influence of living conditions upon the efficiency of their employees, and from the education of the people generally to the importance of pure air and plenty of it.

It is desirable to keep the air as free from dust as possible, whether in the home, the school, the shop, or the street. The dust not only irritates the eyes, nose, and throat, but carries germs of colds, tuberculosis, and other diseases. Well-kept cities are scrupulously careful about keeping their streets well-paved and thoroughly cleaned. Departments of city government exist for these purposes.

In early times this responsibility was left with the individual householder or shopkeeper (see the anecdote about Benjamin Franklin on page 42). In some communities even now the streets are sometimes sprinkled by private contractors who receive fees from householders. In such cases it is

not uncommon to see the driver of the sprinkling cart shut off the water when passing the property of citizens who have not paid their fees.

Smoke and the fumes from chimneys are another cause of air pollution, large industrial plants, hotels, apartment houses, and
Smoke railroads being the chief offenders. An effort to suppress the "smoke nuisance" is made by requiring large consumers of coal to install stoking devices which



FLUSHING THE STREETS

Well-kept cities are scrupulously careful about keeping their streets well paved and well cleaned.

secure more complete combustion of fuel, and therefore prevent its waste in smoke. Smoke inspectors are employed to keep an eye on this matter. A smoky atmosphere, like dirty streets, mars the beauty of a city and probably endangers the health of its inhabitants.

Occupational diseases are diseases to which workers in certain occupations are subject because of the nature of their work. Many of them are due to poisoning, either from handling poisonous materials, or from breathing air laden with injurious dust or fumes. They are among the causes of the wreckage of human life in industry. They are largely preventable by improved methods of manufacture and by proper ventilation, and some states have laws for their control.

Is your schoolroom well ventilated? How do you know? What effect does poor ventilation have upon your feelings and your work?

If the ventilation of your school is not good, what may you do about it? Who is responsible for it?

Observe and report on the ventilation of moving picture theaters, churches, courtrooms, and other meeting places in your community.

How many pupils in your class sleep with windows open?

Get a report from members of your family who work in offices, stores, or factories, as to whether or not their working places are well ventilated. Tabulate the results for the whole class on the blackboard.

If there are housing laws in your city, find out what provisions they make for air and light in tenements? Are these laws carefully observed in your city?

How much air space should there be per person in a schoolroom? In a living room at home? (Consult a physician, the school medical inspector, or an architect.)

Do tenement house inspectors in your city have ample powers?

Why should building interests (builders, owners, real estate dealers) oppose approval of building plans by the health officer (see quotation on page 170)?

Is your city well provided with parks, playgrounds, and other open spaces? Are such "breathing spaces" distributed where they are most needed? Are plans being laid for their further development?

Do you know of employers in your city who have interested themselves in better housing for their employees?

What voluntary associations or agencies exist in your city for the improvement of housing? What are they doing?

Report on the organization and work of the street cleaning department of your city. Is it up to date in its methods? Explain.

Report on the "smoke nuisance" in your city.

Make a report on occupational diseases. What industries in your city, if any, are producers of occupational diseases?

Next to pure air, an abundance of pure water is the chief concern of a community seeking to safeguard the health of its citizens. Impure water is one of the chief sources of typhoid fever and other intestinal diseases. About 400,000 people have typhoid every year in the United States, and 30,000 are killed by it. This is avoidable. We have from three to five times as much typhoid in the United States as many European countries have, thanks to our negligence.

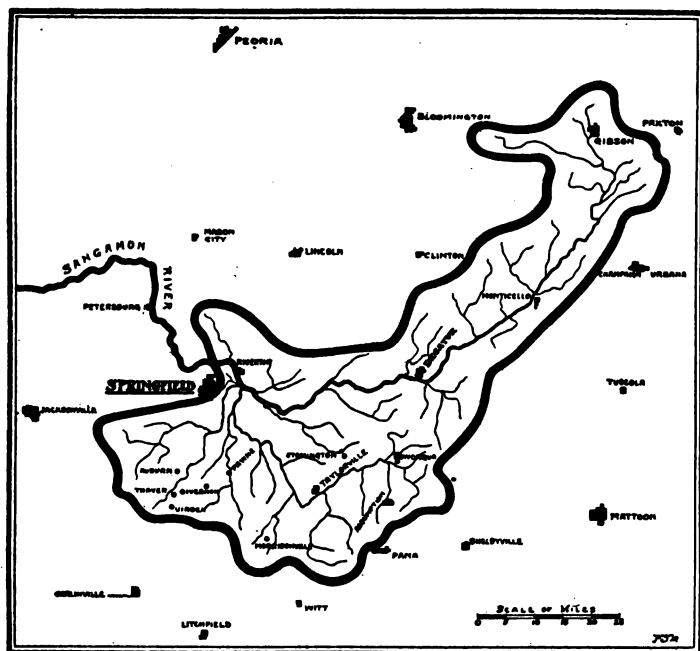
Pure water



Until communities provide a public water supply, families have to provide their own. People often depend upon the private well long after a public supply is available. **Private wells** Well water is easily contaminated. The diagram above illustrates how this may happen. Impurities often seep into wells from long distances. With the growth of population the danger increases, especially if the sanitation of the city is not perfectly provided for (see page 182).

All large cities and many small towns and villages have their public water supply, often installed at great cost. In some cases the water works are owned and operated by the community through its government; in others private corporations perform the service of supplying water

Public water supply

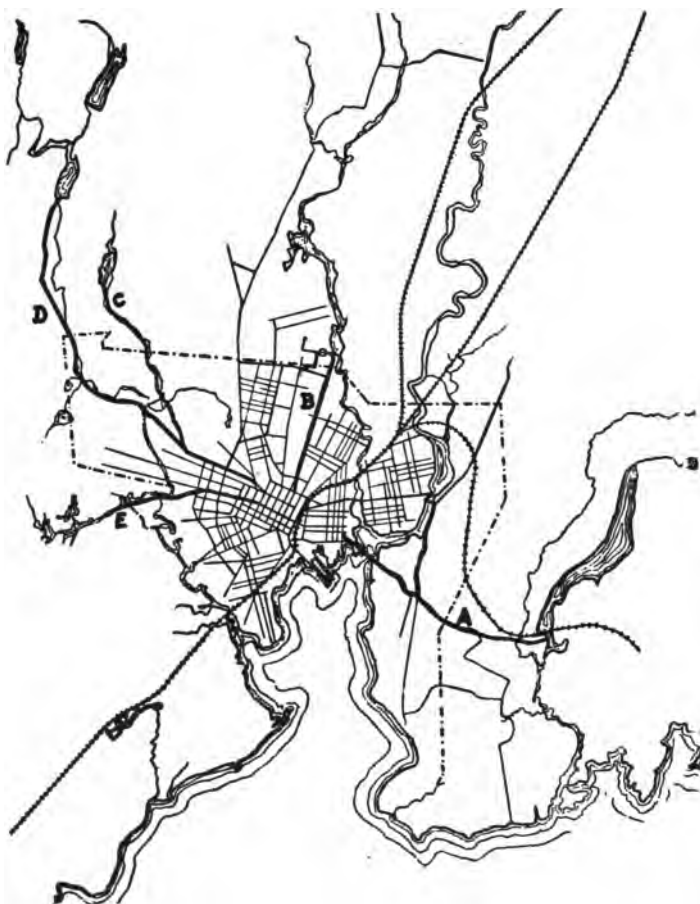


WHY SPRINGFIELD, ILL., MUST NOT PUMP FROM THE RIVER¹

The heavy black line marks the limits of the drainage area of the Sangamon River above the city water works. This area was inhabited in 1910 by some 191,000 persons, of whom 110,000 resided in places of over 1,000 population. The river at Springfield is seriously polluted by the sewage of Decatur and parts of Springfield's own sewage, and water from it should not be used in an unpurified condition.

for which the city pays. In either case the private consumer pays a rental or tax for the service. Many communities depend upon deep wells driven below possible sources of contamination. Others rely on adjacent streams and lakes. Some have found it necessary to go long distances for a safe and abundant supply.

¹From the *Springfield Survey*, by the Russell Sage Foundation.



THE WATER SUPPLY SYSTEM OF NEW HAVEN

A, Saltonstall; B, Whitney; C, Wintergreen; D, Woodbridge (Lake Dawson);
E, Maltby.

A city that depends on adjacent streams or lakes is endangered by sewage and other impurities from communities and farms within the drainage area (see facing map). This illustrates the interdependence of cities and rural communities (see page 66), and affords the reason for state control over streams and other bodies of water to prevent their contamination. Sometimes a city and the surrounding region upon which it is especially dependent are organized into a *sanitary district* under the supervision of a special board or commission.

Chicago went to great expense many years ago to bring its water from far out in Lake Michigan through tunnels under the lake. But meanwhile it went on pouring its sewage into the Chicago River which flowed into the lake. This necessitated the construction of the Chicago drainage canal connecting the Chicago River with the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers, and turning the flow of water *from* the lake instead of into it. New York spent many millions of dollars to obtain its water supply from the Catskill Mountains a hundred miles away; and Los Angeles has gone even farther to draw upon mountain streams. Cities will thus go to almost any expense to insure a pure water supply.

Even then water must often be purified after it is brought from its sources. One common method is to cause it to flow upon large beds of gravel, sand, and other materials through which it slowly filters, removing sediment and harmful impurities. Specimens of the water are taken daily to the laboratories of the city health department for examination, and reports made to the people through the daily papers as to its condition.

Make a report on any epidemic of typhoid fever recently occurring in your locality or state. What were its causes? How was it stopped?

Is typhoid fever frequent in your city? To what causes are the cases of which you know attributable? If you don't know, how would you proceed to find out?

Take a census of your schoolroom (or entire school) to determine the number of pupils whose families depend upon wells for their drinking water.

How may a family proceed to have its drinking water examined for purity?

Make a study of your city water supply: sources; method of purification; cost to the city; cost to individual users; how the cost is met; public or private ownership.

Make an excursion to the purification plant; to the pumping station; to the city laboratory where water is analyzed.

What particular sources of danger to your city water supply exist?

Is your city included in a sanitary district? If so, explain its organization and management.

Pure, clean, wholesome food is essential to good health. Much illness is traceable to improper diet and to poorly cooked and

Pure food "spoiled" foods. Typhoid fever may be contracted from milk, green vegetables, and oysters from beds contaminated with sewage. Tuberculosis may be carried by milk, either from diseased cattle or from victims of the disease who handle the milk at some point in its progress from dairy farm to home. The death rate among babies is especially appalling, and is due largely to the use of infected milk. Our food supply must be protected at every point, a thing difficult of accomplishment in view of the many hands through which it must pass and the long distances it must frequently travel.

The high death rate among babies, which was long taken almost as a matter of course, has been greatly reduced by proper control of the milk supply. No small part of the loss of child life is due to carelessness and ignorance in the home. But the home is helpless if proper precautions are not taken before the milk reaches it. The health organization of a city includes inspectors who supervise all places where milk is handled and sold and take specimens of all milk brought into the city to the laboratory of the health department for examination. The sale of milk that does not come up to certain standards is prohibited, thus forcing milk producers in distant places to exercise care in their methods. As cities grow in size, they

are forced farther and farther away for an adequate milk supply. New York City, which draws its milk supply from five states, some of it coming as far as 300 miles, has authority to send its own milk inspectors into the surrounding region to inspect farms and dairies. But for the protection of all communities state control is necessary.



GOOD AND BAD TYPES OF DAIRY STABLE

Volunteer philanthropic organizations, acting independently or in coöperation with health departments, have interested themselves in a safe milk supply for those who **Voluntary** might otherwise have difficulty in obtaining it. **coöperation** One method is to establish milk stations in congested parts of the city where the poorer people may obtain milk with certainty of its purity. Such organizations have done much to educate the people with respect to the need and the methods of insuring a pure milk supply.

City health departments also provide for the inspection of

other perishable foods, especially in the public markets. But here again it is necessary to control the sources of supply, which is beyond the power of the city alone. States enact **Pure food laws** laws to regulate the sale and handling of perishable foods and to prevent the adulteration of manufactured food products with injurious materials. The state department of



A PUBLIC MARKET IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

health has its laboratories and its food inspectors. Since food products are sent from state to state and are imported from foreign countries, Congress has enacted pure food laws and has provided for national supervision over food products, especially animal products. The Bureau of Animal Industry in the Department of Agriculture maintains, in coöperation with the states, a system of inspection of cattle and packing-houses, establishes quarantine against diseased animals and meats, and regulates the interstate transportation of livestock and food products.

Show on a map the area from which your city draws its milk supply. How far distant does the city go for its milk?

What measures have been taken to reduce the infant death rate in your city? With what success?

Report on the work of a milk inspector in your city.

What is "pasteurized" milk? "Certified" milk?

What voluntary associations in your city interest themselves in a pure milk supply? What are they doing for it?



A PURE FOOD EXHIBIT

From the budget exhibit of New York City

If there are "milk stations" in your city, locate them and tell how they are operated.

What laws exist to protect your milk supply?

What pure food laws exist in your state? How are they enforced?

If there is a public market in your city, how is it regulated for the protection of health? How may those who buy at the market coöperate in protecting the food displayed there?

Are private groceries inspected in your city?

The purity of air, water, and food depends largely upon the cleanliness of the community. First in importance is the disposal of sewage. Every city has its system of sewers under-

lying the streets, and its department of government responsible for their construction and maintenance. It frequently happens, however, that the sewer system has not been carefully planned to meet the needs of city growth, thus failing to give adequate service. Sometimes the sewers are improperly constructed, permitting of obstruction by the roots



DISPOSING OF GARBAGE BY BURIAL

of trees or by caving earth, and preventing proper inspection and cleansing. Sometimes the houses in sections of the city are not even connected with the sewer system. All this means imperfect coöperation and poor leadership in the important matter of health protection. The method of final disposal of sewage is of the greatest importance. The easiest and most usual method is to have the sewers empty into streams and other bodies of water. This is a source of pollution of water supply, and necessitates great care in the purification of the city's water (see page 177). In some cases sewage is put through a process of screening, filtering, and treatment with chemicals to reduce its quantity and to purify it before it is finally disposed of.

Garbage not only represents an economic waste but it is also a menace to health if improperly cared for. Uncovered or overflowing garbage cans are offensive, and attract **Disposal of** and breed flies. Progressive cities require the use **garbage** of tightly covered garbage cans, and frequent collection in closed wagons. In some places garbage is hauled to more or less remote



THE REMOVAL OF ASHES

"dumps," where it becomes offensive, breeds flies, attracts rats, and possibly pollutes the water supply. Many cities now use much of their garbage for fattening hogs, and others have installed garbage reduction plants where oils are extracted for the manufacture of glycerine, soap, and other products, where fertilizers are produced, and where the remnant is burned. This is the economical and sanitary method.

Reference has already been made to the work of the street cleaning department (page 171). Cities also provide for the collection and removal of ashes and "rubbish" **Rubbish and ashes** (paper, cans, etc.) and require that these shall be kept separate from garbage, partly for convenience of handling, partly for considerations of health.

We have learned in recent years that flies, mosquitoes, and various kinds of vermin, as well as rats, and even cats, are carriers of serious diseases. Flies are notorious distributors of tuberculosis and of typhoid fever and other intestinal diseases; mosquitoes of malaria and yellow fever; and rats of dread diseases such as bubonic plague, occasionally imported from foreign

**Disease-
bearing in-
sects and
animals .**



GARBAGE REDUCTION PLANT, WASHINGTON, D.C.

This is located outside of the city. The garbage is cooked with steam and pressed to extract the grease which is sold for commercial purposes. The remainder is sold to fertilizer manufacturing plants.

lands by rats on shipboard. The terrible hook-worm disease, so prevalent in our southern states, is caused by a minute worm infesting soil that is polluted with sewage. It penetrates the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands of those who work in the soil, finds its way through the blood to the intestines, and thence to the soil again. War has been declared against all these dangerous forms of animal life, a war which requires the coöperation of every one, and success in which depends chiefly upon keeping

the community "cleaned up," so that the insects will find no breeding places, and the larger animals nothing to attract them.

Describe the method of sewage disposal in use in your city. Is it a good system? Why?

Are there any portions of your city where the houses are not connected with the sewers? What is the reason for this? Can you find out whether any kinds of sickness are more frequent in such sections?

Do you know of cases where sewers have been blocked up and so caused trouble? What was the cause of the blocking? What should a family do to help prevent sewers from becoming blocked?

Describe the method of garbage disposal in your city. How is garbage disposal in your home regulated by law?

Write a theme on "The value of clean-up week to our community."

What city ordinances regulate the disposal of ashes and rubbish in your home?

How would you proceed to organize a fly-extirpation campaign in your community? A mosquito-extirpation campaign? A rat-extirpation campaign? Are such campaigns in progress in your community? What part are you taking in such campaigns?

Report on the campaign against hook-worm in the South (see Readings).

Besides attempting to create conditions favorable to health — pure air, water, and food, and clean surroundings — communities also provide for the care of the sick and seek to promote observance of the rules of healthy living. **Care of the sick**

In most cases the responsibility for the care of the sick rests with the home, with the aid of physicians and nurses privately employed. The patient may be sent to a hospital, frequently a private institution. Communities, however, also maintain public hospitals, clinics, and dispensaries, and furnish medical and nursing care for those who are unable to pay for competent service. Cities and states maintain institutions for the care of physical and mental defectives (see Chapter XXII).

An important part of the work of a health department is the control of contagious diseases. It is partly for this reason that medical inspection is carried on in the schools. **Contagious diseases**
Acting under the authority of local and state laws, the board of health may place a home harboring con-

tagious disease under *quarantine*. It may close the schools during an epidemic, and even forbid people to assemble in large numbers, as in the case of recent epidemics of influenza. Cities and states may declare a quarantine against other cities and states where epidemics prevail. The national government, through its Immigration Bureau, subjects immigrants to a strict inspection to determine their freedom from contagious diseases, and may forbid their entrance to our country if afflicted with such diseases.

We noted in Chapter X the service of the schools in providing for health education and in helping to form health habits. It is **The public health nurse** an important part of the work of the health department, as well as of the department of education, to extend education in these matters to the people at large. This is done by various means. One of the most effective methods is through the *public health nurse*.

"The public health nurse is the field agent of the public health officer. She spends most of her time visiting in private homes. She recognizes defects and unhygienic habits, brings children and patients to physicians and clinics for examination, and makes arrangements for treatment. . . . The public health nurse may have to spend an hour or two persuading and instructing a parent to submit her child to an examination or operation which takes but a few minutes of a doctor's time. She makes it possible for people in moderate financial circumstances to receive the benefit of medical and surgical advice which may prevent a severe attack of sickness or may enable a patient to return to a useful occupation. She is a teacher of the newer phases of public health work and brings a knowledge of the possibilities of preventive and corrective work to those who would otherwise remain ignorant and would become weaklings because the means of help were not brought to their attention.

The greatest saving of life during the last twenty-five years has been among children under five years of age, and has been accomplished largely by means of the public health nurse. The nurses visit and instruct mothers in their homes, conduct classes for mothers and older sisters, establish milk stations, and promote a sanitary milk supply.¹

What is a "clinic"? A "dispensary"? A "sanitarium"?

¹ Dr. Frank Overton, in *Public Health and Hygiene*, pp. 573, 574.

What city, county, or state hospitals, sanitariums, and clinics do you have in your city? Locate them on your map.

Get from your city health department (and your state health department) publications relating to the control of contagious diseases.

What is done by your city health department to control an epidemic of contagious disease?

What is your duty if there is a contagious disease in your home? In your school? What happens in your school if a case of contagious disease occurs there?

Write a theme on "The work of a public health nurse"; or, "Why I should like to be a public health nurse."

What is the difference between a public health nurse and a school nurse?

If you wanted a nurse to take charge of a case of sickness, to what different agencies in your city might you apply?

What is a "public health center"? (See Readings.) Have you any in your city?

Every city government has its health department. It has been the customary thing to have at the head of this department a *board of health* which, under the form of **The city board of health** government that has long prevailed in American cities, is usually appointed by the mayor. The board varies in size, but five members is a usual number. As in the case of the board of education (see page 148), it is generally thought that the best results are obtained when the members are unpaid. As a rule it is required that one or more members of the board shall be physicians, though it is not the business of the board of health to render professional medical service, any more than it is the business of the board of education to render professional educational service (see page 149). The board usually has certain legislative powers to enable it to make rules regulating the health conduct of the people. Sometimes this power is very limited and may often be practically annulled by the city council, which frequently passes ordinances in conflict with the best judgment of the board of health. It is the general belief of students of city government that the board of health should have complete authority over the health policy of the city.

The professional expert in charge of the work of the health department is the chief health officer, who corresponds to the **Health** superintendent of schools in the department of **experts** education (see page 148). He is usually a physician or a sanitary engineer. Where there is a board of health, he is usually appointed by it. Subordinate to him there are inspectors of milk and other food, sanitary inspectors, tenement house inspectors, public health nurses, bacteriologists, and a more or less numerous staff of clerks. School medical inspectors and school nurses are sometimes attached to the board of health and sometimes to the board of education. Many believe that this work should be under the control of the school authorities. The number and variety of these health specialists vary in different cities. Often they are appointed by the board of health, but it is the opinion of most students that they should be appointed by the chief health officer and completely under his authority, just as school principals and teachers should be appointed by the superintendent of schools and not by the board of education (see page 149).

There is a decided tendency to place the department of health in charge of a single health commissioner instead of under a board. This is especially likely to be the case under the newer "commission" and "city-manager" forms of city government. (See Chapter XXVI.)

The health organization of a city cannot be efficient unless it is supported by the people. It costs money. It is a common **The cost of** complaint that cities do not give the support that **health pro-** the importance of health protection and promotion **tection** deserves. Cities, of course, differ greatly in this respect; as a rule, the larger the city, the better the support given. The survey made by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1913 (see page 168) showed that this support ranged all the way from ninety-eight cents per inhabitant per year in one city to only three quarters of one cent per inhabitant per year in another. The writer of the report of the survey says:

What can we expect of a department in a city whose total appropriation is but \$200? And if the New York City department uses fifty-eight cents per inhabitant per year and has to practice great care to make it go round, what can our average city do on only twenty-two cents? Again, do any real differences in local conditions require that Seattle spend ninety-eight cents per inhabitant per year, while Woonsocket may rest content with four cents?

In view of the close interdependence of the city and the surrounding rural region and neighboring small communities, it is highly important, even from the standpoint of the city, that there be an effective health organization in this surrounding region. Counties usually have their own boards of health, or health officers, or both; but county health organization and service have been as a rule sadly neglected. At the present time, however, improvement is being made in this respect in some of the states.

County
health
organization

Arlington County, Virginia, is just across the Potomac River from the city of Washington, with which it is connected by several bridges and electric railway lines. Most of its population lives in villages and small towns, many of whose inhabitants have their work in the city across the river. The county supplies Washington with some of its milk, vegetables, and other food materials.

In this county, prior to 1919, "there was no aggressive health policy; little money appropriated; no provision was made for the removal of night soil; no safeguarding of water supplies; no school, dairy, or food inspection. Prevention of spread of communicable diseases consisted in the perfunctory duty of placarding houses and an inefficient method of fumigation. Tin cans, rubbish, garbage, and even night soil were deposited in vacant lots, in runs, along electric lines, in gullies and water ways. Hogs had grown up with the county and probably outnumbered the present school population."¹

This was a deplorable condition for the rural environs of our national capital. In the spring of 1919, the United States Public Health Service proposed to demonstrate the practicability of a thorough-going plan of health work and sanitation in this county. The demonstration was begun, with the coöperation of the state board of health of Virginia and the county authorities. The Rockefeller Foundation, a private agency, also contributed to the support of the enterprise. The demonstration was a complete success,

¹ From the first annual report of the health officer of Arlington County.

the county now has an extremely effective health organization, and has been thoroughly "cleaned up."

When the demonstration began there was almost complete indifference, and no little opposition, on the part of the people of the county. To-day they are enthusiastic about their health conditions, and coöperate wholeheartedly with the health authorities, even to the 3,000 children in the schools of the county (see page 192).

To insure protection for all communities within a state, city and rural alike, a state health organization is necessary. At the head of this organization there is a state board of health, or a commissioner of health, or both. There are state laboratories, inspectors, and hospitals. State health departments differ greatly in their organization and in the extent and effectiveness of their work. Where they are well organized, they coöperate with and supervise the work of local health organizations. The New York state health organization is one of the best in the country, and may be taken as an illustration. Among its important features are (1) a *public health council* which has power to establish a state-wide *sanitary code* (law); (2) the concentration of all administrative power in the hands of a single state *health commissioner*, who has a staff of experts to direct special lines of health work; and (3) a well-organized scheme of coöperation between the state department and local health authorities. Each local community (town, village, and small city) has its board of health and health officer; but these communities are grouped into twenty *health districts*, each of which is in charge of a district health officer called a *sanitary supervisor*, who is appointed by the state commissioner of health.

While the health protection of the individual is considered primarily a duty of the state working through state and local authorities, many conditions endangering health are nation-wide, and even world-wide, in their influence. Chiefly under the power given to it by the Constitution to regulate interstate and foreign commerce (see page 492), Congress has passed many laws that protect

Federal control of health conditions

health, placing their enforcement in the hands of the several departments of the national government.

The Department of Agriculture conducts much public health work, through its home demonstration agents, its Office of Rural Engineering which deals with problems of farm water supply and rural sanitation, its Bureau of Entomology which wages war against flies and other disease-carrying insects, and its Bureau of Animal Industry which inspects cattle, meats, and dairy products. The Department of Agriculture also administers the Food and Drugs Act, the purpose of which is to secure purity of food products and to require that they and medicinal drugs shall be labeled in such a way as to show what they contain. Fraudulent and harmful "cures" and "patent medicines" may thus be exposed.

**Health work
of the
Department
of Agriculture**

The War Department has also waged a relentless warfare against disease, not only in the army itself, but also in the Panama Canal Zone, Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and other regions occupied by the army. The Department of Labor seeks to improve the physical conditions of labor for both men and women, and its Children's Bureau is charged with a study of all matters pertaining to the welfare of children. In the Department of the Interior the Census Bureau collects national vital statistics; the Bureau of Mines has done valuable work for the prevention of accidents in mines and mining industries; and the Bureau of Education seeks to promote physical education, instruction in home economics, and education in the home relating to the care of children.

**Health work
of other
departments**

The United States Public Health Service in the Treasury Department investigates diseases and health conditions and the means of controlling them. It issues reports and other publications of great value to the citizen, some of them being listed at the end of this chapter.

**The Public
Health
Service**

It has representatives in all important foreign ports, inspects all

ships that enter American harbors, and holds them in quarantine until they and their passengers are given a clean bill of health. Cholera and other dangerous diseases have thus been prevented from gaining a foothold on American soil.

It is never to be forgotten that all this governmental machinery is merely our organization to facilitate coöperation for health on the part of the people, and that it will fail to secure the results for which it was created unless the people actually coöperate with it. There are numerous voluntary organizations to promote such coöperation — more than fifty national organizations concerned with child health alone, and several times as many interested in other aspects of public health. A few of the best known of these are the American Red Cross, the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, the National Tuberculosis Association, the American Child Hygiene Association, and the Child Health Organization of America.

The young people of America may have, and do have, an important part in this team work for health. There are several national organizations for this purpose, notably the Junior Red Cross and the Health Crusaders. In many schools there are health clubs. In Arlington County, Va., referred to above (page 189), the pupils in every school are organized as Junior Health Departments, each with a boy health officer and a girl health officer, and each carrying on an interesting and important health program, coöperating closely with the county health officer and the public health nurse for all that makes a healthy and healthful county.

Make a study of the organization of your city health department. Compare with the statements made in the text. Is your city health organization efficient? If you think not, why? How would you improve it? Is it really a means of coöperation?

How much money is spent annually by your city for the work of its health department? How much is spent per inhabitant per year? Is it enough? Why is not more spent?

Make a study of your county health organization.

Make a study of the organization and work of your state department of health. What help does your city get from the state department of health?

Investigate and report on the sanitation of the Canal Zone; of the Philippine Islands; of Cuba at the close of the Spanish War.

Report on the methods and results of the inspection of immigrants.

Write a theme on "The United States Army as a Life Saver."

How are we protected from Asiatic cholera and the bubonic plague?

What voluntary health organizations are at work in your city? What are they doing?

Do the people of your city coöperate fully and effectively in health matters?

Find out what you can about methods by which school children may coöperate in community health work.

READINGS

Reports and other publications of local and state departments of health.

Publications of the U. S. Public Health Service. For example:

Federal Public Health Administration: Its Development and Present Status.

Reprint No. 112, 1913.

Public Health Reports. Issued weekly. For example:

1919, No. 16, Health Insurance.

1919, No. 13, The Nation's Physical Fitness.

Supplements. For example:

No. 4, The Citizen and Public Health.

No. 5, Fighting Trim: The Importance of Right Living.

No. 24, Exercise and Health.

No. 29, The Transmission of Disease by Flies.

No. 30, Common Colds.

No. 31, Safe Milk.

Public Health Bulletins. For example:

No. 32, Hookworm Disease.

No. 36, Nature and Prevention of Tuberculosis.

No. 69, Typhoid Fever.

No. 102, Home-made Milk Refrigerator.

No. 103, The Rat.

Reprints. For example:

No. 504, Sewage from the Single House.

No. 517, Is Your Community Fit?

Publications of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Farmers' Bulletins. For example:

No. 375, Care of Food in the Home.

No. 602, Production of Clean Milk.

No. 851, The House Fly.

Year Book.

1913, pp. 125-134, Health Laws.

1915, pp. 159-172, Animal Disease and Our Food Supply.

1916, pp. 77-98, Meat Inspection Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Publications of the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor.

Bureau Publications. For example:

No. 8, Infant Care.

No. 35, Milk.

No. 61, Save the Youngest.

No. 64, Every Child in School.

Publications of the U. S. Bureau of Education.

Lessons in Community and National Life:

Series C, Lesson 19, How the City Cares for Health.

Lesson 32, Housing for Workers.

Series B, Lesson 4, Feeding a City.

Lesson 7, An Intelligent Diet.

Lesson 14, The United States Public Health Service.

Health Education Series.

No. 7, The School Lunch.

Bulletins:

1910, No. 5, American Schoolhouses.

1913, No. 44, Organized Health Work in Schools.

No. 48, School Hygiene.

No. 52, Sanitary Schoolhouses.

1914, No. 10, Physical Growth and School Progress.

No. 17, Sanitary Survey of the Schools of Orange County, Va.

No. 20, The Rural School and Hookworm Disease.

1915, No. 4, The Health of School Children.

No. 21, Schoolhouse Sanitation.

No. 50, Health of School Children.

1917, No. 50, Physical Education in Secondary Schools.

1919, No. 2, Standardization of Medical Inspection Facilities.

No. 65, The Eyesight of School Children.

Dunn, Arthur W., *Community Civics and Rural Life*, chap. xx. (Heath.)Beard, Chas. A., *American City Government*, pp. 261-282.Payne, E. George, *Education in Accident Prevention*. (Lyons and Carnahan, N.Y.)

Prepared at the request and with the approval of the National Safety Council.

Towne, E. T., *Social Problems*, chap. xvii, "Conservation of Human Life." (Macmillan.)

For a list of "valuable, dependable, interesting, and readable" books on personal and public health write to the Health Service, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C., for "Suggestions for the Health Center Library." A very few titles from this list are given below:

The New Public Health, H. W. Hill. (Macmillan.)*Community Hygiene*, A. C. Burnham. (Macmillan.)

- Home and Community Hygiene*, J. Broadhurst. (Lippincott.)
American Red Cross Textbook on Home Hygiene and Care of the Sick, (P. Blakiston's Sons & Co.)
Public Health Nursing, M. S. Gardner. (Macmillan.)
The Battle with Tuberculosis, M. King. (Lippincott.)
American Red Cross Textbook on First Aid, (P. Blakiston's Sons & Co.)
Civilization and Health, Woods Hutchinson. (Houghton Mifflin Co.)
Primer of Sanitation, J. W. Ritchie. (World Book Co.)
Town and City, Mrs. F. G. Jewett. (Ginn & Co.)

CHAPTER XII

SOCIAL, ÆSTHETIC, AND RELIGIOUS WANTS

"In the great march of the nations towards a perfect civilization, one race has forged ahead in reverence, another in justice, another in knowledge, another in power, another in art. But the nation that gathers these all up into one coördinated whole is the nation towards which civilization tends, and wherein the complete man shall live nobly and happily." — ALLEN B. POND.

SEVERAL times in the preceding chapters reference has been made to our national purpose "to transmute days of dreary work into happier lives." This does not mean to get rid of work; for happiness can be attained only in work and through work. But there never was a truer statement than that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." In return for his work every citizen is entitled to enough compensation to enable him to provide not only for the bare necessities of life, such as food and shelter, but also for the pleasure that he derives from the satisfaction of his higher wants, such as social life and recreation, an education that will give him a richer enjoyment of life, pleasant surroundings, religious advantages.

All these things have much to do with our national well-being and our citizenship. Our nation is democratic only in proportion to the equality of opportunity enjoyed by all citizens to satisfy these wants. Moreover, the efficiency of each citizen in productive work and as a participator in self-government depends more than we sometimes think upon his opportunity to "enjoy life" in pleasant surroundings and in wholesome social relations. In the past the citizen has been left largely to his own resources and to

purely voluntary coöperation to provide for these wants. Government has not even adequately *protected* his rights of this kind, to say nothing of positively *promoting* them. At present, however, community team work through government is being



A TYPICAL PLAYGROUND IN CHICAGO

organized as never before both to promote and to protect the interests of all citizens in the fullest possible enjoyment of life.

RECREATION AND SOCIAL LIFE

Children enjoy play because it satisfies physical, mental, and social wants. But it is also the principal means by which they prepare for the more serious duties of later life. **The value** It builds up health, trains the muscles and the **of play** senses, and sharpens the wits. It gives practice in team work, develops leadership, and teaches the value of "rules of the game." Every child is entitled to an abundant opportunity to play, both because of the happiness it affords him and because by it he is trained for membership in the community. It is to

the interest of the community to afford him the opportunity. It is largely for this reason that most of the states protect children by law from being put to work for a living at too early an age.

In large cities thousands of children live in crowded districts where there is no place to play except in the public streets. **Opportunities for play in cities** So little have we appreciated the importance of play in the development of young citizens that great numbers of schools have been built with no provision whatever for playgrounds. This mistake is slowly being corrected, often at great expense. No school is now considered first-class if it does not have an ample and well-equipped playground, with competent directors to teach children how to get the most out of their play. Most cities are also establishing public playgrounds apart from the schools, sometimes under the management of the school board, but often under that of a special playground or recreation commission.

Under the heading, "What Do Playgrounds Cost, and Are They Worth While," *The American City* for July, 1920, says:

"It is notable that the verdicts from those cities which reported the heaviest expenditures are the most enthusiastic and outspoken. Brookline, Mass., which paid \$500,000 for its playground and spends \$7,100 yearly on its upkeep, regards it as a 'paying investment.' Fitchburg, Mass., appropriating \$5,000 a year on its six playgrounds, says that 'no feature of the city has done so much good.' Macon, Ga., already spending \$8,000 a year, intends to establish a playground for colored children. Newton, Mass., appropriates annually \$21,000 to \$25,000 for supervision, maintenance and equipment, and the opinion of its citizens regarding the work is shown by the fact that last year a new playground valued at \$125,000 was donated to the city. The final word of approval comes from East Orange, N.J., which votes \$8,500 for annual costs: 'It is the only thing taxpayers never complain about.'"

On a map of your city mark in all the public schools. Color in one color all those that have playgrounds, and those that have none in another color. Make a cross, or other distinguishing mark, for those that are equipped with play apparatus.

In which sections of the city is there the *greatest* need for school playgrounds? Why? According to your map, is this need met? Why are not playgrounds immediately provided for all schools of the city?

Locate on your map public playgrounds not attached to schools. Are there enough such playgrounds? Are they well located?

Who is responsible for the management of playgrounds in your city?



A PLAYGROUND IN SAN FRANCISCO

Is the play of the children directed? If so, by whom? Why is direction necessary?

How could your own playground be improved?

As children grow older, an increasing part of their time must be given to work — school work, tasks at home, remunerative employment outside of the home. After leaving **Meaning of** school and throughout adult life, work absorbs the **recreation** major part of one's time and attention. But even then, "all work and no play" will continue to "make Jack a dull boy." We now call play "recreation," for by it body and mind and spirit are refreshed, renewed, *re-created*, after close application to work. That is why school work is broken by "recesses."

Recreation is necessary as a means of providing for physical, mental, and social wants; for the pleasure that it affords. But it is also important in its relation to work, for without it body and mind become "fagged," people grow "stale" at their work, producing power and power of service are reduced. Employers recognize this more clearly than they once did, and large industrial establishments, department stores, telephone exchanges, and the like, frequently provide recreational facilities for their employees — rest rooms, reading rooms, game rooms, gymnasiums, music.

- It is very easy to get out of the habit of play, and especially difficult to form the habit in adult life if it has not been done in youth. People often become so absorbed in work that there seems to be no time for recreation. In such cases not only is the enjoyment of life narrowed, but there is a risk of damaging the quality of one's work and even of shortening one's life of productive activity, or of service.

Every worker is entitled to opportunity for recreation, both for his own sake and for the well-being of the community.

Leisure a re-requirement This means, first of all, that he must have *leisure* for it. When people have to work hard for ten or twelve or more hours a day, year in and year out, as was once customary in industry, there is neither time nor energy for wholesome recreation. That such conditions existed, and still exist to a considerable extent, is due to gross imperfections in the industrial organization of the community. One of the evidences of progress toward "transmuting days of dreary work into happier lives" is the reduction in the hours of toil in many industries, and the consequent increase of leisure for the enjoyment of life and for self-improvement.

One of the things for which labor unions have struggled is the shortening of the working day. Through their efforts, and through the awakening of public interest and knowledge in regard to the matter, the working day is now fixed by law at eight hours in most industries, often with a half

holiday on Saturdays. Experience has shown that this change in no way reduces the product of industry. There are still some industries, however, in which men toil at the hardest kind of labor for twelve or more hours a day, sometimes even including Sundays.



A WADING POOL IN LOS ANGELES

Most of the children who use this pool and the playground in which it is located are from Russian families.

A second thing necessary to afford opportunity for recreation is an income from one's work sufficient to provide more than the bare necessities of life. Before the war, it is **A living wage** said, more than five million families, or about one **a necessity** fourth of the families in the United States, were trying to live on a wage of \$50 a month, or less. During the war, wages of skilled and unskilled labor shot upward; but so, also, did the cost of living. It is not easy to determine just what share of the proceeds of industry should, in justice, go to the laborer in wages. But it should be enough to provide not only for food

and clothing and shelter, but also for decent family life, for healthful surroundings, for education for the children, and for wholesome recreation.

Labor unions and others interested in a fairer distribution of the proceeds of industry have long been working for the enactment of "minimum wage laws," that is, laws fixing the least wage that may be paid for each class of labor, this to be enough to provide reasonable satisfaction of all the wants of life. Some states have already enacted such laws, and during the recent war the federal government in some cases fixed rates of wages, and appointed labor boards to adjust wages to the rising cost of living.

Leisure and income, however, do not suffice for recreation unless they are wisely used. Mere idleness is not recreation; **The wise use of leisure** and many people use their leisure in *dissipation* instead of in recreation. "Dissipation" is the opposite of thrift. It means to "throw away," or to be wasteful. A person may "dissipate" his income. We have come to understand the word "dissipation," however, to mean excessive indulgence in pleasures or amusements that are wasteful of time, energy, or health, or all three; and we call the person "dissipated" who is addicted to such indulgence. Any amusement, even though harmless in itself, may become dissipation if indulged in to excess, or at the sacrifice of other things that are better, as in the case of going to the "movies."

In your own case, is "going to the movies" recreation or dissipation? What qualities must a moving picture entertainment possess to make it wholesome recreation?

To what extent do business and manufacturing establishments in your community provide for the recreation of their employees? Select one that does most in this direction and describe what it does.

Compare wage earners in your community to-day with those of your father's childhood with respect to the amount of leisure they enjoy (consult your father). From your own observation, to what use is leisure put by wage earners of your acquaintance?

How does your father get recreation? Your mother?

What is the length of the working day for the different employments with which you are acquainted in your city?

Communities often lack adequate facilities for recreation. This is especially true of small communities. In large cities the best and the worst of everything may usually be found, and this is true of the means of amusement. But the better forms of amusement and of recreation are often beyond the reach of large numbers of the population, while cheap amusement and oppor-



RECREATION FOR EMPLOYEES OF A SOAP FACTORY

tunities for dissipation beckon on every hand. The saloon has been called the "poor man's club," and owed its popularity, before it was abolished by prohibition, very largely to its sociable atmosphere. Every community has its well-known "loafing places."

The more harmful amusements and places of dissipation are more or less regulated by law. The saloon has been abolished. Gambling is usually unlawful, at least in its more obvious forms. Dance halls are supervised. Even moving pictures are "censored." But the most effective preventive of dissipation is ample provision for wholesome recreation. Many of our cities

give a good deal of attention to the recreational life of their people. The city's parks give opportunity for outdoor life, and many of them include playgrounds and recreation centers, which on Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, and late afternoons, swarm with thousands of people, young and old, participating in or watching sports of many kinds, or enjoying family and friendly



THE GIRLS' HOUSE AT A COUNTRY CLUB

Supported by an industrial plant

parties in the open. Public bathing places are provided, and cities with water fronts often provide recreation piers. Free band concerts are a common institution, and sometimes municipal theaters are supported. School buildings are coming to be more and more widely used as "community centers" where the people of the neighborhood may gather for social entertainments as well as for serious instruction.

The preceding paragraph refers to forms of recreation provided and supervised by the city government, usually through its department of education or its department of parks and

playgrounds. Recreation is still chiefly a matter of private initiative and support. It is largely provided on a commercial basis, as in the case of theaters, concerts, amusement parks, athletic clubs, and the like. Many of these perform valuable service, but too often they are either beyond the financial reach



ALMOST EVERY COMMUNITY HAS ITS LOAFING PLACE

of most people, or are socially exclusive, or are of a low order of merit.

Many voluntary agencies exist to extend recreational opportunity and to improve its quality. Only a few of these can be mentioned here. Philanthropic institutions or associations have established social settlements in the poorer districts of our larger cities, where wholesome amusements and social life are provided. The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and the Catholic Knights of Columbus, have performed a notable service in furnishing

means of recreation to young men and women. The Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Girl Pioneers, and Campfire Girls owe their success chiefly to the wholesome recreation they afford. The purpose of all of them may be suggested by the words applied to one of



COMMUNITY MUSIC

them: "An organized effort to teach girls to find romance, beauty and adventure in everyday life, to work together, to give community and personal service, and to make the homely tasks contribute to the joy of living."

The Playground and Recreation Association of America seeks "to direct and develop interest in playgrounds, to promote wholesome recreation for young and old, and to assist communities to establish year-round recreation systems supported or administered by municipal departments." Community Service, Incorporated, had its origin during the war to provide recreation for the soldiers, but it continues in an effort to "help

people of American communities to organize for the employment of their leisure time to the best advantage for recreation and good citizenship."



A BEAUTIFUL TENEMENT YARD IN CONGESTED NEW YORK CITY

Beauty in one's surroundings adds much to the enjoyment of life

The trouble, however, is not wholly due to a lack of means of recreation, nor to lack of leisure to enjoy them, but also to a lack of appreciation of the best forms of recreation and of knowledge of how to make the most of recreational opportunities. People need to have their taste for the best forms of recreation cultivated, and to be educated in wise methods of using leisure. The opportunity for recreation is largely dependent upon one's own capacity to get enjoyment out of life. It is also largely a matter of *thrift* in the use of leisure time. All of this requires

education. Education for the wise use of leisure is equally important with education for one's vocation.

What forms of amusement and entertainment are regulated by law in your city? In the case of each, what are some of the regulations? What means are adopted to see that the regulations are observed? Why should each of the amusements named need regulation?

List and locate places of recreation provided or administered by your city government. What departments of the government are responsible for them?

Describe the recreational activities of the various voluntary associations mentioned on pages 205-206, so far as they exist in your city.

Make a list of other voluntary agencies for the promotion of recreation in your city.

Is interest in wholesome recreation increasing in your city? Give evidence of it.

Report on the work of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. On Community Service, Incorporated.

What agencies are involved in providing your community with moving picture entertainments? How are moving pictures censored?

In what ways does your school educate for the wise use of leisure?

What is the meaning of the statement that "the boy without a playground is father to the man without a job"?

ATTRACTIVE SURROUNDINGS

Beauty in one's surroundings adds much to the enjoyment of life, and therefore, also, to one's efficiency in work and as a citizen.

**Appreciation
of that which
is beautiful**

People are often apparently blind to the beauty that is around them. "Having eyes, they see not; and ears, they hear not." Those who live in the open country are surrounded by natural beauties of which city dwellers are largely deprived. Too often, however, they are unconscious of them or indifferent to them. To the hard-working farmer a gorgeous sunset may be little more than a sign of the weather on the morrow, and the beauty of a field of wheat or corn may be lost in the thought of the toil that has gone into it, or of the dollars that may come out of it. Fortunate is the rural dweller

whose toil and isolation are tempered by an appreciation of the beauties of the natural world about him!

Love for and appreciation of that which is beautiful may be cultivated. It is a part of one's education. The schools now give more attention to it than formerly; but many of them do not yet give enough. **Its cultivation** Appreciation of beauty is cultivated not merely by instruction in "art," but also by those studies that increase one's knowledge of the common things about us. The teaching of agriculture or of science has a very practical purpose; but its purpose is only partly accomplished if it teaches us how to raise corn or cotton without opening our eyes to the wonders of nature involved in the process.

An appreciation of beauty may be cultivated, also, by association with it, as it may be destroyed by constant association with that which is ugly. People who live in unkempt and slovenly surroundings are likely to become indifferent to them. It is the duty of every one to have a care for the appearance of his surroundings both because of its effect upon himself and its influence upon others.

A stranger who visits our school is likely to judge it, first of all, by its appearance. He will note whether or not the building is in good repair, the condition of the grounds and fences, the presence or absence of flower beds, shrubs, and trees. Inside, he will observe the cleanliness and orderliness of the room, the decorations on the walls, the presence or absence of pictures and flowers and plants; yes, and also the care pupils and teacher take of their personal appearance. These things are signs to the visitor of the interest taken by pupils, school authorities, and the community in their school. They are also signs of the character of the work done in the school, and of the happiness of the pupils.

In a similar manner, the visitor to our community will form his first opinion of it by its appearance. He will note, first of



"STORES TRESPASS UPON THE PUBLIC WAY AND DISPLAY UGLY SIGNS "



**THE SAME VIEW AS ABOVE AFTER SIGNS, POLES, AND WIRES WERE
REMOVED AND A BOULEVARD LIGHTING SYSTEM INSTALLED**

By courtesy of Frank Koester, New York City, Advisory City Planner and Street
Lighting Expert for Allentown, Pa.

all, the appearance of the homes, and then, probably, the cleanliness and state of repair of the streets. He will notice, also, the extent to which the people love flowers, and care for trees and vacant lots. All of these things will be signs to him of the prosperity, the happiness, the "community spirit," of the citizens. They will doubtless enter into his decision as to whether or not he cares to live, or establish a business, or educate his children, in that community.

What impression would a stranger get of your community from its appearance, especially with reference to the community spirit? What features in the neighborhood of your school would probably attract his attention?

What features in the appearance of your community give you a feeling of pride? a feeling of shame?

Is your school as attractive as you would like to see it? In what respects do you think it could be improved? What could you, in coöperation with other pupils, do to achieve the desired improvement?

America is a young nation and, like many young people when starting out in life, has been too absorbed in the so-called practical affairs to think as much as it should about some of the finer things that make life worth living. The beauty that characterizes many cities of the older countries is the result of centuries of growth and of an appreciation of the beautiful that Americans, generally speaking, seem not to have attained, or to have subordinated to other interests. In traveling through the United States one is likely to be impressed by the monotonous and unattractive appearance of the towns and villages. Occasionally, in parts of the country that have been settled longest, one sees beautiful communities that fit harmoniously into the landscape, and whose architecture is in pleasing taste. But such communities are rather exceptional. American cities have grown rapidly, and for the most part seem to have been thrown together, or permitted to grow up, without plan and with an

eye solely to provide shelter, or for immediate business utility. Too often the American city is characterized by the following description:



THE CITY OF BOSTON

Note the extreme irregularity of the streets, some of those in the business section being very narrow and crooked. Boston just "grew up," in contrast with the carefully planned city of Washington. Note the network of highways in the background, connecting the city with the adjacent suburban and rural communities (see page 64).

"What is the great city of to-day? Wide regions given up to manufacture where forbidding, untidy premises sacred to utility and greed invite the workman to his daily toil. Commercial districts where dowdy stores trespass upon the public way and vie with each other in the display of ugly signs, and where uncleanly booths and hucksters' stands obtrude themselves into the thoroughfare. Here and there throughout the length and breadth of the city rude hoardings smite the eye with flashy posters and coarsely painted advertisements. The householder and the storekeeper, educated downwards by their daily environment, dump cans, sweepings and debris in the street and alley; and the passerby drops his newspaper in the open car or flings it to the ground, and with it any other thing he chances to have in hand and does not wish to keep. Street after street where rows of houses, — for the most part ugly or tasteless when new and now helpless and resigned, begrimed by soot or shabby with decay, — stare forlornly at still other rows disconsolate across the way."¹

¹ Allen B. Pond, *The Gospel of Beauty*.

The attractiveness of a community depends largely upon the attractiveness of the homes and other properties that comprise it. The responsibility for the community's appearance goes back in no small measure to those who occupy the homes or own the properties. There is nothing in which the influence of example is so quickly seen as in matters relating to appearance. People copy their neighbors in matters of style, whether it be in dress or in architecture. This is one phase of community life in which it is easy to establish leadership, and in which young citizens can perform valuable civic service and contribute materially towards making the community a better place in which to live.

**Opportunity
for leader-
ship**

In one rather forlorn section of a large city a number of schoolboys who were studying civics sought permission to lay sod in the dooryard of a neighboring tenement house. Permission having been granted and the sod laid, it was not long before some one else in the neighborhood did likewise, and soon people all around were sodding their yards or sowing grass seed. Then they began to repair and paint their fences and otherwise to "tidy up" their places, until the whole neighborhood was transformed in appearance. It is interesting to note, also, that as the community improved in appearance, it also became less lawless than it had been.

Does the description of a city given on page 212 apply to your city, or to any portion of it? In what respects?

What members of your class have kodaks or cameras? Could you not have a civics camera club? A collection of photographs showing beauty spots, and spots that need beautification in your neighborhood would help to create interest in the matter.

What are the principal faults of the homes of your neighborhood with respect to appearance? Their principal attractive features?

Do you know instances in which the example of an individual or of a home has spread through the community?

Why might improvement in the appearance of a neighborhood tend to improve the conduct of the people who live in it?

The achievement of the best in civic beauty, however, cannot be left entirely to individual initiative. There must be a certain amount of community control. One means of control is to have a *plan*. Probably the most beautiful

The city plan

city in the United States, all things considered, is Washington, the nation's capital, and this is due in large part to the plan adopted for the city in the beginning.

The plan for the city of Washington was drawn by Major L'Enfant, a French engineer. It was a combination of the rectangular, or "checker-board," street plan adopted a hundred years earlier by William Penn as the



PLAN OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON

plan for Philadelphia and characteristic of most American cities, with a plan of radiating streets borrowed from European cities. The Capitol building is one center from which streets and avenues radiated in all directions, and a mile away the President's mansion is another such center. In other parts of the city are other minor centers of street radiation. Convenience in getting from one part of the city to another was one object of the plan (though strangers are often confused by the many intersecting streets), but it has also contributed to the development of a city of very great beauty. For one thing, there are innumerable "circles" and triangular plots of ground at points where several streets intersect, all of which have been transformed into beautiful little parks, often adorned with monuments or fountains.

A number of American cities which have started out with plans have either not adhered to them or have failed to revise and develop them to meet conditions of growth which the founders could not foresee. There must be continuous control over the growth of a city if its beauty is to be preserved. The city of

Washington is fortunate not only in having a plan comprehensive enough in its main features to meet the needs of growth, but also in having its government engineers and its art commission to adapt the plan to new conditions as they arise, and to pass upon the plans and location of buildings, parks, bridges, and other features. But even Washington has not been entirely safeguarded against the growth of inharmonious features. Control



BEAUTY IN THE STREET

Note the ornamental lighting standards and the shrubbery.

has not been exercised promptly enough in all cases to prevent private interests, intent solely on profit, from erecting inartistic rows of houses, apartment buildings, and business blocks (see page 121). City planning is now receiving a great deal of attention, and a number of cities have their boards or commissions for this purpose. Since the "planning" of an old city involves much reconstruction, it entails great labor, inconvenience, and expense; for old structures have to be torn down and private property

condemned and bought for the widening of old streets and the laying out of new ones.

Many factors enter into the beauty of a city, and need control. The streets must be well planned, well paved, and thoroughly cleaned. Their lighting system should give an abundance of light at night, while not marring their beauty in the day time with unsightly poles, wires and lamps. A forest of telephone, telegraph, electric light and trolley poles, with network of wires, is unsightly, and in many cities is eliminated by placing wires underground. Sections of cities are made both unsafe and ugly by railroad tracks; but in Washington, for example, while the terminal station for all railroads is in the heart of the city, it is itself one of the most beautiful buildings in the city, and all tracks pass through the city underground. The same is true of the railroads entering the Pennsylvania and the Grand Central stations in the heart of New York City. Bridges may be monstrosities, or beautiful works of art. Among the most difficult things to control in industrial cities is smoke that clouds the atmosphere and begrimes people and buildings alike; and in cities, villages, and even rural districts, there is the billboard that "smites the eye with flashy posters and coarsely painted advertisements."

"Man — the city maker — has remade his environment, and for that which was purely natural has substituted that which is largely artificial." Fortunate is the city that retains a setting of natural beauty. For years fashionable Michigan Avenue in down-town Chicago was separated from Lake Michigan by unsightly railroad tracks. The tracks have now been depressed below the ground level and the lake front improved; while in the northern and southern sections of the city Lincoln and Jackson Parks stretch along the lake shore to the enjoyment of swarms of people otherwise condemned to stuffy tenements, dreary shops and office buildings. Cities that have allowed their streams to be-

**Factors in
civic beauty**

**Preserving
natural
beauty**

come lined with unsightly buildings and more unsightly refuse heaps, are now transforming their banks into parks and boulevards. Happy, also, is the city which has for all its people an



FOUNTAIN IN DU PONT CIRCLE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

One of the numerous small parks where several streets intersect

abundance of tree-arched streets, and of flower-adorned, bird-haunted parks. American cities are more and more coming into possession of these things, which add so much to the joy of living.

What department or bureau of your city government is responsible for street improvement? Just what are its duties?

Do you have "avenues" and "boulevards" in your city? What is the difference between "streets," "avenues," and "boulevards"? What is a "parkway"?

Are the names of the streets of your city indicated at street intersections in an attractive way, as well as plainly? Where is the best place for the street name, from the point of view of appearance and of effectiveness as a guide to strangers?

Are the streets of your city well planned? Are they well kept?

Describe the street-lighting system of your city. What other methods of street lighting are there? Would you favor a change of method in your city? Why?

Make a study of your city with reference to other factors that enter into its appearance, such as electric wires and poles, railroad tracks, bridges, billboards, smoke, etc.

Has your city conserved the natural beauty of its surroundings? Explain.

Discuss the treatment of any streams that may run through your city. How have they been (or might they be) beautified?

Describe the park system of your city. Let different members of the class write descriptions of the distinctive features of the several parks of the city.

If there is a city forester, or similar officer, in your city, describe his work. Does he have the coöperation of all citizens? What enemies do the trees of your city have? What can you do to help fight these enemies?

City planning includes, as we have seen, the adoption of a zoning system by which the height of buildings, the percentage of lot space they may occupy, and the use to which they may be put, are controlled. Parks are appropriately located and developed, and perhaps connected by boulevards. Public buildings are often grouped in a "civic center," for convenience as well as beauty, and their architectural features determined by competent architects. Art commissions pass judgment on statues, fountains, bridges, and the mural decoration of public buildings. Communities are beginning to take pride in the architectural appearance of their school buildings. Collections of paintings, statuary, and other works of art, are becoming more numerous, often through the beneficence of citizens of wealth who take pleasure in making them available to the public.

We must not overlook the community's interest in beauty as it appeals to the ear. On the one hand, there is the effort to cultivate and to satisfy the taste for good music. The schools give more attention to the cultivation of musical appreciation than formerly. "Community singing" is becoming popular. Public band concerts are frequent in our large cities. A number of our



ROTUNDA AND STAIRWAY

Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

cities take great pride in their widely-known musical organizations, such as orchestras and choral societies. On the other hand, some effort is made to suppress unnecessary noises, which tend to

increase with the growth of cities, and of which we are all too tolerant. The din of automobile horns and of street-car gongs, **Unnecessary noises** the clatter of flat wheels over poorly laid rails, the shrieking of sirens in factory and railroad districts, the roar of trains on elevated structures, the clamor of newsboys, hucksters, and cabmen, — these and other noises that are largely preventable and are, in fact, controlled in the best regulated cities, detract from the pleasure of life, if they do not indeed tend to shatter the nervous system.

Make a list of the public buildings in your city. Which of these belong to the city? to the county? to the state? to the nation?

Are the public buildings located in accordance with any plan? If so, describe the plan.

Which of the public buildings of your city do you consider the most beautiful? Write a description of its beautiful features.

What bridges, fountains, monuments, and statues of particular beauty are there in your city? Where are they located?

Is there an art commission, or other group of responsible and expert persons, who pass judgment on buildings and works of art before they are erected in your city?

Are the school buildings of your city beautiful? Are the newer ones more beautiful than the older ones? Make a list of those that you think most beautiful and explain why you select them.

Make a study of the churches of your city with respect to their beauty.

Continue the collection of photographs of the beautiful features of your city. Also, in contrast, of features that are not beautiful. Also, as far as possible, collect photographs, picture post cards, and illustrations from magazines, showing beautiful features of other cities to compare with those of your own city. Consult your public library for illustrations of civic art in other cities of this and other countries.

Could you as a class (not as individuals) arrange to exchange views of your city with classes in schools of other cities for views of their cities?

What can you say of the amount and kinds of unnecessary noise in your city, and of the efforts made to suppress it?

Make a study of the "city planning movement" in the United States, especially with reference to city beautification. Report on what has been done in particular cities. (See references in the Readings below, and consult your librarian.)

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND AGENCIES

In some countries church and state are inseparably bound together. Before the recent war the Russian Czar was also the head of the Russian church. In our own country **Government and religion** in colonial times, no citizen was permitted to vote in the New England town meeting (see page 437) who did not belong to the Puritan church of the community. This religious qualification for participation in government was in the course of time dispensed with, and one of the fundamental principles of our democracy is that every citizen shall have complete liberty of religious belief. Our government exercises no control over the religious life of the people other than to guarantee this liberty. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof" (Constitution, Amendment I). State constitutions contain similar guarantees. To prevent government interference with religion, religious institutions are exempt from taxation.

On the other hand, the church and other religious institutions are an important means of community control. They do not exercise this control through government, but **Religion a means of control** through the influence of their own beliefs and organization upon the conduct of their members. If everybody should live in accordance with the Golden Rule, there would be no need for government as a means of repression, but only as a means of performing service.

One of the unfortunate things about the church has been the fact that more or less important differences in religious belief have tended to break up the community into numerous religious groups, or churches. This may be **Religious differences an obstacle to team work** necessary in purely religious matters, but it has too often happened that the people have allowed their religious differences to prevent united action in other matters of common interest to the entire community. In some cases communities have been broken up into rival, or even hostile, factions because



Courtesy *American Magazine of Art*

THE VILLAGE CHURCH, LYME, CONN.

A Painting by Everett Warner

This is a typical early New England church, where people not only worshipped, but also met in town meeting.

of this. There is, however, a growing tolerance of one religious sect or denomination by others, which is in accord with the Christian spirit, and is necessary if community life is to be well

developed. It often happens that there are more churches of the same denomination in a community than it can support. In such cases, at least, there is need for church consolidation similar to the consolidation of schools, and for the same reason.

The church may be, and often is, an important agency in the community for the performance of services other than that of ministering to the religious wants of the people. **Social service of the church** Or, to speak more correctly, it has realized more or less fully that the religious wants of the people are closely bound up with their other wants, and seeks to minister to these other wants as a part of its religious duty. Thus, we find the church growing more active in looking after the health interests, educational interests, and social and recreational interests of its members and others.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE PROTECTION OF PROPERTY

THE loss from fire in the United States, according to a report of the United States Geological Survey, equals the combined product of all our gold mines, silver mines, copper mines, and oil wells. It is "greater than the value of all the land and improvements in any one of these states: Maine, West Virginia, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Alabama, Louisiana, or Montana." "It is almost as though one of these great states were fed into the fire every year." It is "nearly enough to build a Panama Canal each year."

Fire loss
in the
United
States

"In 1913, the average fire loss for each man, woman, and child in France was 49 cents; in England it was 33 cents; in Germany, 28 cents; in Austria, 25 cents; in Italy, 25 cents; in Switzerland, 15 cents; and in Holland, only 11 cents. *In the United States for the same year the direct loss was \$2.10 — and the indirect loss was far higher. . . .* Vienna and Chicago are cities of about the same size. Vienna had fire losses for the year 1913 of \$303,200; Chicago's were \$5,513,237, or more than eighteen times as great. New York City's fire losses were about four and one-half times as large as those of London."¹

It may be that the smaller fire losses in European cities are due in part to the construction of fewer inflammable buildings, or to a more rigid enforcement of laws aiming at fire prevention. But one thing is certain, namely, that the appalling loss from fire in the United States is due largely

The cost of
carelessness

¹The statements quoted are taken from a valuable pamphlet, *Safeguarding the Home against Fire*, prepared by the National Board of Fire Underwriters, New York City, from whom it may be obtained.

to carelessness. If we examine the reports of the fire department in any American city for a year, or a month, and study the causes of fires, we shall find that most of them would not have occurred if some one had not been careless — in handling matches, in throwing away lighted cigars or cigarettes, in allowing accumulations of inflammable refuse, in forgetting the stove or the furnace, in handling gasoline, and so on. It is said that wastefulness is our chief national sin, but carelessness is the twin sister of wastefulness: they go hand in hand.

The spirit of carelessness in the United States is really a greater enemy than any foreign invader, and it is found in millions of little unconscious acts of carelessness. Whenever you, yourself, commit such an act, therefore, you really range yourself as an enemy of your country.¹

If the loss from fire fell only upon those whose carelessness caused it, it would not be so bad. But, like the rain, it falls upon the innocent and the guilty alike. Our interdependence is in no way more clearly shown than in the results of some one's carelessness in causing a fire.

The first and most important step for the protection of property from destruction by fire is to *prevent fires*, and the **Fire** responsibility for this falls very heavily upon **prevention** each citizen, young or old. But it is a matter requiring concerted action — team work. In many communities there is an annual *fire-prevention day*, or week. This certainly does not mean that fires are to be prevented on that day, or week, alone; it means, rather, that at least once a year the entire community concentrates its thought upon this important subject, and engages in a general, concerted clean-up of conditions that might invite disaster. But *every* day ought to be a fire-prevention day. Young citizens who are seeking ways in which to serve their community in a practical manner might find one fruitful opportunity in organizing a fire-prevention club; or, if already members of some other "good citizenship"

¹*Safeguarding the Home against Fire*, p. 11.

club, to make fire prevention one of its chief interests. An organization of this sort in every school would mean a fire-prevention army in the United States that could easily do as much to *protect* the community's wealth by reducing fire loss, as the School Garden Army accomplished in *producing* food supplies during the war. The prosperity of a community, like that of an individual, depends as much upon what it *saves* as



"A STREET OF DESOLATION"

"The buildings consumed by fire in 1914 would line both sides of a street extending from New York to Chicago. A person journeying along this street of desolation would pass in every thousand feet a room from which an injured person was taken."

upon what it *produces*. Who could more appropriately initiate such a movement than the civics class?

Gather and bring to class as many facts as possible showing the magnitude of the fire loss in the United States.

Ascertain the fire loss in your city for the past year.

What is meant by "direct" fire loss? What items would be included in the "indirect" fire loss?

Bring to class and put on the bulletin board clippings from your daily papers reporting fires for a period of a week or month. Tabulate losses and causes as far as reported.

Are annual reports published in your city showing the number of fires occurring, their causes, and losses involved? If so, by whom and where?

If such a report exists, get it and study the causes of fires reported. Make a list of those that may be charged to carelessness. What percentage of all fires fall in this list?

If your city had a fire-prevention day this year, or last year, what did it accomplish? What part in it did you take? Your school?

What can you do to-day to lessen the danger from fire in your school, home, neighborhood, and city?

Why not organize a fire-prevention club in your school? Discuss the question in class. Consider:

Whether or not there is any other organization in your school that might properly interest itself in fire prevention as a part of its program;

What the program of such a club might be; obligations of members; subjects for discussion at meetings; activities;

The possibility of similar clubs in other schools of your city;

The practicability of correspondence between your school and schools of other cities with regard to the organization and aims of such clubs, and the development of a fire-prevention army.

Fire insurance affords an example of voluntary coöperation for protection against loss by fire. It is simply a method of dis-

**Loss dis-
tributed by
insurance**

tributing the loss from any particular fire among a great many people. Property owners buy insurance from insurance companies, paying for it a small *pre-*

mium. The premiums paid by a large number of policy holders, together with the profits resulting from their investment, produce a large fund out of which the insurance company pays the occasional losses of individual policy holders. Insurance rates vary with the character of the "risk." Insurance companies may refuse to sell a policy, for example, on a house where the electric wiring is not properly insulated, or on a store where dangerous explosives are kept. At least the rate of insurance will be higher in such cases than in others. In order to secure lower rates property owners are likely to keep their premises in as safe condition as possible, thus reducing the likelihood of fire. A great many people are careless about keeping their insurance paid up, thus losing its protection in case their property burns.

Property may also be insured against loss from storm or flood, and even against theft or burglary.

What is meant by an insurance "policy"? a "premium"?

Obtain a blank insurance policy from some insurance office for study in class.

Find out what you can about insurance rates in your city. Are they relatively high or low as compared with those of other cities? How do they vary in different parts of town, and for different kinds of buildings?

What rate of insurance does your father pay on your home? On his place of business?

Is there a "salvage corps" in your city? Under whose direction is it? What does it do?



ALL THAT IS LEFT OF HOME

Individual care and voluntary coöperation, however, are not enough in large communities. The larger the community, the more elaborate and costly become the organization and equipment necessary to fight fire. It is necessary to work through government.

Building laws, mostly local but sometimes state laws, regulate the materials of which buildings may be constructed; height of buildings; thickness of walls; construction of flues; Building electric wiring; placing of fire escapes and keeping laws them free of obstructions; number and placing of exits; lighting of

halls; accumulation of rubbish; storing of inflammable or explosive materials. Provision is made for the inspection of buildings to see that they conform to the legal requirements.

Building laws are frequently disobeyed and badly enforced. It requires a highly efficient inspection system to detect infractions of the many details of such laws in large cities, if builders and property owners themselves do not coöperate conscientiously. Many such infractions are due to ignorance of the laws, though this does not excuse them. Many people are willing to "take chances" on escaping fires without careful observance of the laws. Builders and property owners often seek to evade what they consider unnecessary expense by ignoring the provisions of the law. In many cases it is a matter of sheer carelessness or neglect.

Make a study of the building laws of your city so far as they relate to fire prevention.

Are building laws carefully observed and enforced in your city? What building laws are most likely to be ignored?

What existing arrangements of your school building are required by law? Are there any arrangements or conditions in your school building that are contrary to law?

What is the purpose of the "fire drill" in your school? Is the fire drill well conducted? If not, in what respects?

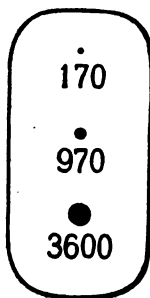
Are the moving picture theaters in your vicinity safe? What provisions are made for their safety?

One of the first essentials for fire protection is an adequate water supply. We have already considered the city's water supply in its relation to health (see pages 174-177) and noted the elaborate measures taken by many cities to provide themselves with enough pure water to meet all needs. For fire protection the purity of the water is of no consequence, but abundance, accessibility, and pressure count for everything.

The water that is piped to every part of the city is made accessible for fire purposes by means of fire plugs, or hydrants, at frequent intervals in every street. If the reservoirs in which water is stored before it enters the

mains in the streets are sufficiently high above the city level, the natural fall affords sufficient pressure for ordinary purposes. Or the water may be pumped into tall standpipes, the fall from which gives the necessary pressure to permit playing fire streams upon high buildings. The fire engine is of course a pump by means of which water from the mains is forced upon the fire. In some cities a special system of "high pressure" mains is laid in the streets, through which water is forced at very high pressure by means of powerful pumps in central power houses.

The rapid growth of cities in recent years has imposed heavy demands upon their water systems. We have noted the extraordinary measures taken by New York and Los Angeles to provide themselves with an inexhaustible water supply. Many cities at the present time are alarmed



At 40 pounds pressure, in 24 hours,
.... a stream running through this size of opening would
mean a waste of 170 gallons,

.... through this opening a waste of 970 gallons, and

.... through this opening a waste of 3,600 gallons.

to find that their water systems are taxed almost to their utmost capacity to meet even normal needs, and are taking steps to increase that capacity, as in the case of our capital city, Washington. Under such conditions it is necessary to economize in the use of water in every possible way. To most people water seems as free as air; but it costs every city heavily, and every property owner has to pay for it. Wastefulness is inexcusable at all times; but when the supply is limited, the danger to which it exposes the city makes economical use imperative. Each individual of us can help materially to prevent waste of water by ordinary care with respect to faucets in the bathroom or kitchen, the use of garden hose, and in other ways.

Is the water supply of your city adequate for present and future needs?

What proposals, if any, are made to increase your water supply?

Is the water pressure in your city adequate to meet all emergencies?

How is this pressure secured? If you have a "high pressure" system in your city, how does it operate?

Are water meters used widely in your city? How do they effect economy in the use of water?

What can you say about economy or wastefulness in the use of water in your home?

See topics on water supply on page 178.

Water is merely the ammunition without which the community's fire-fighting army would be helpless in the face of the enemy. Every city has such an army in its fire department.

In the beginning of community life, and to-day in rural districts, each householder is the defender of his own possessions, whether against fire or human enemies. As communities grow the need for organized coöperation becomes apparent. The first step is the organization of volunteer fire companies, the members of which go about their usual business until an alarm of fire is given, when they drop whatever they have in hand and rush to meet the enemy. The volunteer fireman may be compared to the "minute-man" of colonial New England. When the community grows still larger, a permanent, highly-trained fire-fighting force becomes necessary.¹

The fire departments of our large cities afford one of the most perfect examples of organized team work for community purposes — organization and team work that are machine-like in their perfection. They are also prolific of examples of discipline, resourcefulness, courage, and loyalty, on the part of the individual members who may be called upon at any moment to take their lives in their hands for the security of others.

The fire department is a part of the service organization of the city government. It is administered, as a rule, by a *fire commissioner*, or a *board of fire commissioners*, appointed from private life by the mayor or other governmental authority. Often the fire department is joined

¹ Wilmington, Del., is probably the only large city in the United States that still depends largely upon a volunteer organization of its fire department.

with the police department in a *department of public safety* under a single board or commissioner. The actual direction of the fire department is in the hands of a *fire chief*, who corresponds to the commanding general of an army; and subordinate to him are captains, lieutenants, and other officers in command of various divisions of the force. The members of the department are distributed throughout the city at various advantageous stations, each station being equipped with elaborate fire-fighting apparatus, and all being connected by a system of electric signals.

Make a study of the fire department of your city: organization; number of men; location of fire stations or engine houses (locate on map of the city); equipment; alarm system; cost to the community (compare with cost of police department and of schools).

If a fire should break out in your home, school, or vicinity, what steps would you take? Just how would you send in an alarm?

Visit an engine house and have its arrangements explained to you. Afterwards, discuss in class.

Millions of dollars in property have been destroyed, thousands of lives lost, and untold suffering caused by the periodic recurrence of floods in certain sections of the **Loss from floods** country. The control of floods requires the combined efforts of national and state governments, as well as of local communities and individuals. Levees have been built along some of our rivers that are subject to flood, notably the lower Mississippi, where the work has been done by the joint action of the states affected, through their local levee boards and state boards of engineers, and the United States Mississippi River Commission. A recent law of Congress appropriated \$45,000,000 for the control of floods by improvements from the head waters of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio, and \$5,000,000 for the protection of the Sacramento Valley in California.

Great saving of property has been effected by the United States Weather Bureau in the Department of Agriculture.

Just as the movements of a ship or of a railroad train may be reported day by day, and hour by hour, by telegraph, so the appearance and movement of a storm center or of a cold wave or of a flood are reported from a multitude of observing stations. There are central weather-forecasting stations at Chicago, New Orleans, Denver, San Francisco, Portland, Ore., and Washington, D.C. Weather



GREAT DAMAGE IS CAUSED BY FLOODS

forecasts are made up at these points from observations telegraphed in from observing stations, and within two hours are telegraphed to about 1,600 stations, from which they are further distributed daily to about 90,000 mail addresses, to all newspapers, and made available to 5,500,000 telephone subscribers.

"It may be said without exaggeration that the San Francisco office of the Weather Bureau has saved to the citrus fruit growers of California more money within the last five years than the annual appropriation for the entire Bureau during a period of twenty years." "The value of the orange bloom, vegetables, and strawberries protected and saved on a single night in a limited district in Florida . . . was reported at over \$100,000." "The warnings issued for a single cold wave . . . resulted in saving over \$3,500,000 through the protection of property." "Signals displayed for a single hurricane are known to have detained in port on our Atlantic coast vessels valued with their cargoes at over \$30,000,000."

Flood warnings are sent in from about 60 centers along our rivers, enabling farmers to remove their cattle from bottom lands and to save their crops, and saving large sums to railroads and to business men and home owners in cities.

Report on disastrous floods in your state.

What measures have been taken in your state to prevent loss from floods? . If you live in a river town, study especially the provisions there made for flood protection.

Investigate more fully how the Weather Bureau forecasts the weather.

Learn how to read the weather map. Explain to class. (Bring copy of weather map to class.)

How are business men in your city benefited by the Weather Bureau?

Report on the work of the United States Department of Agriculture in preventing loss of crops and live stock. How is this work of value to the business of your city?

All states have laws to protect their citizens against the "ill-mannered" (see page 48) who do not respect property rights — thieves, burglars, highwaymen, vandals, sharpers, **The police** and others. The enforcement of these laws is left **department** largely, though not altogether, in the hands of local community agencies. Townships have their constables, counties their sheriffs and deputy sheriffs, and cities their police. New York City had reached a population of 300,000 before it abandoned the plan of police protection at night by volunteers who pursued other occupations during the day. To-day it has a police force of more than 10,000 men, organized like an army. At the head of the police force in most cities is a *police commissioner*, or *chief of police*, usually appointed by, and responsible to, the mayor or other head of the city government. In a few cities he is appointed by the governor of the state. Every large city is divided into *precincts*, each with its police station in charge of a captain, who directs all police operations in his precinct.

It is the duty of the police department to maintain order. It regulates traffic; keeps order where crowds gather; aids the fire department at fires and the health department in enforcing

its regulations; controls vice; restores lost property to its owners and lost children to their homes; renders aid in case of accident and calamity. Uniformed men patrol the streets day and night, and "plain clothes" men quietly go about with eyes open for suspicious characters. There are policemen on foot, policemen on horseback, policemen on bicycles and motorcycles and in motor cars, and, where there is a water front, policemen in boats.



STATE POLICE OF PENNSYLVANIA

The police of American cities are, as a rule, courageous men, loyal to the interests of the community. Generally speaking, however, police departments have not been as highly efficient as fire departments. They have been more frequently subject to corrupt influences. The reasons for this we shall consider in a later chapter.

It has been noted above that in some cases more or less control is exercised over the city police department by the

state government, as in the appointment and removal of police commissioners by the governor of the state. In a few instances there is an organized *state police*. Texas has her "rangers" who protect her borders against raids. In Pennsylvania there is a well-organized state police, or "constabulary," which has many times proved its efficiency in bringing criminals to justice, in quelling riots in mining centers, and especially in affording protection to remote rural communities.

The proper lighting of the public streets is an important factor in the protection of property as well as in personal safety.

Make a detailed study of the organization of the police department of your city (see the provisions of your city charter and the reports of the department published by the city). Investigate such points as the following:

Is the head of the department an individual, or a group of individuals? How is the head appointed? To whom is it directly responsible?

The number and location of police stations (locate on a map of the city). In what precinct is your school? Your home?

The different branches of police service and their uses (patrolmen, bicycle-men, etc.).

From whom does the patrolman whose "beat" includes your school take orders? How does he communicate with his superior officer while on duty?

Police service as a vocation: qualifications for; how appointment as a policeman is secured; compensation; opportunities for advancement; the daily routine of a policeman; etc.

Is the method of appointing policemen in your city a good one? Explain your answer.

Extent of state control over your city police department.

Investigate and report on

The state police of Pennsylvania;

The Texas Rangers;

The mounted police of Canada.

Describe the street lighting system of your city.

Report on the history of street lighting in your city.

Look up the story of Benjamin Franklin's invention of a street lamp.

A great deal of property is destroyed or injured by *vandals*. The original Vandals were a tribe of Germanic peoples who

invaded southern and western Europe in the Middle Ages, and who were noted for their destructiveness

of the beautiful buildings and other evidences of Roman civilization. There seem to be "vandals" in almost every community. Sometimes vandalism is wanton, — that is, it results from an apparent love of being destructive. Most often it is purely thoughtless. Few people would knowingly injure the property of another if they would stop to think of their feelings if another should injure *their* property. It is a case of "bad manners." Moreover, it is not a "square deal" to injure another's property while expecting one's own property to be secure. When vandalism occurs in a community it creates a general feeling of insecurity and destroys the sense of freedom.

Public property is often more likely to suffer from vandalism than private property. Some people will mar the walls of public buildings, or make their floors filthy with expectoration when they would not think of doing so in private buildings. They will break shrubbery in public parks, or despoil public flower beds, when they would not think of entering private premises for such purposes. There seems to be a feeling that public property belongs to no one, or else that, since it is public, any one is at liberty to do as he pleases with it. This, of course, is foolish. It is as if a stockholder in a business corporation should injure or destroy the corporation property, forgetting that he owned a share in it and suffered a share of the loss.

Is vandalism common in your community? What are some of its most common forms? Are there evidences of it in your school?

Inspect the courthouse, post office, and other public buildings and report evidences of vandalism.

Is vandalism justifiable on Hallowe'en? Discuss.

Every state in the Union has its *National Guard*, or organized *militia*, for the defense of the state. It is frequently called

out by the governor, who is its commander in chief, to quell riots, or to protect property in times of disturbance when the local police are unable to handle the situation. **The National Guard** It is also frequently used in times of public disaster, as in the case of floods, to protect property and to aid in various ways in restoring order.

Prior to 1916, the state militia constituted a second line of defense in our national army, the Regular Army of the United States being the first line. In time of war, the President of the United States could call upon the **and the National Army** governors of the states for the use of the militia; the members reënlisting as individuals for national service. In 1916, when the militia was needed for service on the Mexican border, Congress passed a *National Defense Act*, which made the National Guard of the several states a part of the first line of defense and subject to call for national service exactly like the forces of the Regular Army.

Our nation has never believed in a large standing army. Before the war with Germany the Regular Army consisted of less than 100,000 men. But when war was declared the Regular Army and the National Guard were increased in size by enlistment, and the selective draft put into operation (see page 89), with the result that within a short time we had a great National Army of approximately 5,000,000 men. Since the war we have gone back to a peace-time basis with a standing army (the Regular Army) of not more than 175,000 men.¹ A large army is a great burden of expense. Many, also, believe it to be a menace to the liberties of the people and to our peace with the world.

We have never had the same fear of a large navy that we have had of a large army. Our navy has grown gradually and its growth was given a tremendous impetus by the **The Navy** World War, so that at present it is surpassed in strength only by that of Great Britain. It is the defender of

¹ As these lines are written Congress is debating whether to authorize an army of 175,000 men, which is the number desired by the Secretary of War, or a smaller force.



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WEST POINT MILITARY ACADEMY

From a mural painting by Will H. Low in the State
Education Building, Albany, N. Y.

our commerce on the seas, and, in view of our isolated position with reference to other great powers, it is our first defender in case of attack from abroad. But navies, even more than armies, are an enormous burden of expense to a nation. When one nation increases its naval power, other nations feel bound to do the same, until the burden has become almost unbearable.



A UNIT IN OUR "FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE"

U.S.S. *Oklahoma*. One of our most modern "super-dreadnaughts"

Since the World War there has been renewed discussion of the possibility of an agreement among the great powers gradually to reduce their naval armaments.

Investigate and report on the organization and strength of the National Guard of your state.

What are the qualifications for enlistment in the state militia? In the Regular Army?

Prepare ten-minute papers, or speeches, on the following topics: "Team Work in the Army;" "Team Work in the Navy;" "Team Work between the Army and the Navy in War." (Different members of the class choose different topics.)

What are the arguments for and against disarmament?

The Navy is often spoken of as our "first line of defense." What does this mean?

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Bruere, Henry, *The New City Government*, pp. 263-313.

Munro, W. B., *The Principles and Methods of Municipal Administration*, chap. vii (police), and pp. 122-166 (water supply).

McAdoo, William G., *Guarding a Great City*.

Dunn, Arthur W., *Community Civics and Rural Life*, chap. xvi. (Protection of crops and livestock.)

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Federal Executive Departments as Sources of Information, U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1919, No. 74.

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CHAPTER XIV

COMMUNICATION

TEAM work is impossible without prompt and effective means of communication.

Tell what you know about the value of signals in getting team work in a football or baseball team.

Discuss the importance of means of communication in conducting military operations. What means were used for this purpose in our army in France?

How were military movements reported and directed in the Revolutionary War?

Andrew Jackson's victory at New Orleans was won a month after the War of 1812 was officially ended. How did this happen?

What were some of the methods used by the American Indians to convey information between distant points?

One of the most interesting chapters in history is that relating to the development of means of communication. Language itself is the most important of these means. It is Language not altogether clear what the first steps were in as a means of communication the development of spoken language; but we know that among uncivilized peoples conversation is aided, and often largely carried on, by signs made with the hands. Written language certainly developed from the use of pictures, which were gradually curtailed into *hieroglyphics*, such as were used by the ancient Egyptians, and finally developed into the *alphabet*, each letter of which was originally a picture.

A story is told of a group of American Indians who some years ago visited an eastern city. They could not make themselves understood, nor could they understand others, and became very lonely. They were taken to visit a deaf-and-dumb institution, where they were quite delighted to find that they could converse freely by the use of a natural sign language.

Uncivilized peoples are in the habit of conveying ideas in the most astonishing ways. For example, among a certain African tribe the gift of a tooth brush carries a message of affection. These Africans take great pride in their white teeth, and the tooth brush carries the message, "As I think of my teeth morning, noon, and night, so I think often of you."

To illustrate the development of the alphabet from pictures, our letter *m* represents the ears of an owl, which in Egypt was called *mu*, and the picture of which, later reduced to the ears, came to represent the sound of *m*.



COMMUNICATION ON THE BATTLE FRONT

The fascinating story of the development of language cannot be told here. It is referred to because we are likely to forget

**Effects of
illiteracy
and inability
to use
English**

what an important factor it is in making community life possible. Inability to use a common language prevents intercourse and team work.

Large numbers of men drafted in the American army were unable to understand the English language. Between 30,000 and 40,000 illiterates were taken in the first draft, and it is said that there were nearly 700,000 men of draft age in the United States who could neither read nor write. They could not sign their names, nor read orders or instructions. They had to be

separated and taught, thus greatly delaying the complete organization of our available fighting forces. Inability to use a common language is equally an obstacle in industrial life, for non-English speaking workmen are unable to understand instructions or to read signs and warnings. Many accidents are due to this cause. It is said that approximately $5\frac{1}{2}$ million of our population above ten years of age cannot read or write in any language, and that 5 million of our foreign population cannot use English. An active campaign is now being conducted to teach English to foreigners and to eradicate illiteracy. Bills have recently been introduced in Congress to provide federal aid for this purpose.

If the productive labor value of an illiterate is less by only 50 cents a day than that of an educated man or woman, the country is losing \$825,000,000 a year through illiteracy. . . . The Federal Government and the States spend millions of dollars in trying to give information to the people in rural districts about farming and home making. Yet 3,700,000, or 10 per cent, of our country folk cannot read or write a word. They cannot read a bulletin on agriculture, a farm paper, a food-pledge card, a liberty-loan appeal, a newspaper, the Constitution of the United States, or their Bibles, nor can they keep personal or business accounts. An uninformed democracy is not a democracy. A people who cannot have means of access to the mediums of public opinion and to the messages of the President and the acts of Congress can hardly be expected to understand the full meaning of this war, to which they all must contribute in life or property or labor. — SECRETARY LANE, Annual Report, 1918, p. 30. From letter to the President.

What is illiteracy? What is the difference between an illiterate and a non-English speaking person?

Debate (or discuss):

Resolved, That *all* persons of sound mind in the United States should be required by law to attend school until they are able to speak, read, and write English fluently.

Resolved, That the elimination of illiteracy and the teaching of English to foreigners should be left wholly to the states without interference or aid from the national government.

What can you find out about the number of illiterates in your city? In your state?

What is being done in your city and state to eliminate illiteracy? To teach English to foreigners?

Why are foreigners required to read sections from the Constitution of the United States before receiving their naturalization papers?

What does "knowing how to read" mean?

Debate: *Resolved*, That no native-born American should be permitted to vote who cannot read intelligently.



ARRIVAL OF THE MAIL, TANANA, ALASKA

Next to language itself, the most important invention for the communication of ideas is the art of printing. It made possible the book, the magazine, the newspaper. The writer of this book is enabled to communicate with boys and girls whom he will never see, by means of the printed page and the pictures which the book contains. By the same means the ideas of people who lived long ago have been handed down to us, and the ideas of to-day will be passed on to later generations. Most wonderful is the modern newspaper, which daily carries into almost every home of the land the important happenings in the world during the preceding twenty-four hours. City newspapers may issue several editions during the day. The newspaper enables the merchant to com-

municate, through advertisements, with possible buyers, and the business man to keep posted regarding trade conditions and market prices. Most newspapers have special departments for different classes of readers — a woman's page, a children's column, a page devoted to sports, perhaps another to educational matters. Most of them also have a department in which individuals may ask questions or express their own opinions



UNITED STATES MAIL EN ROUTE, ALASKA

regarding questions of the day. The "local newspaper" in the small town, with a circulation that seldom extends far beyond the county in which it is published, is of the greatest value in stimulating a community spirit.

The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that:

Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of **The right of free speech** speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble. . . .

The right of free speech and of a free press is a very sacred one, and its maintenance is one of the chief safeguards of democracy. It is the means by which *public opinion* is formed and made known; and public opinion is one of the chief means of control in a democracy. It controls the conduct of individuals,

and it controls the actions of government. The representatives and leaders of the people in the government seek constantly to know what public opinion is, and the public press is one of the chief channels through which they may find out. On the other hand, leaders and parties seek to *form* public opinion, to lead the people to think in certain ways and to support certain ideas. The press affords an effective means for doing this.

It is easy to see that both good leaders and bad leaders may thus create public opinion, that both good and bad ideas may be spread through the press. During the war **Propaganda** we heard much about German *propaganda*. This means that ideas were systematically spread to create a public opinion favorable to the German cause. It was done largely by rumors, springing from no one knows where, and spreading by word of mouth. But it was also accomplished through the newspapers, by news items and stories that appeared to be true and that were published innocently enough in most cases, but that afterward were found to be false.

It is not to be supposed that all propaganda is harmful or dangerous. There is propaganda in good causes, or on both sides of a disputed question. By this means public opinion is educated. When the peace conference at Paris proposed a plan for a League of Nations, it was at once taken up for discussion through the newspapers and magazines. People who believed in the idea organized a campaign of *publicity* to support the plan and to create a public opinion for it, while those opposed to it were equally active in their attempt to create a public opinion against it. In this way the people became informed regarding the question, provided they read both sides of the discussion and not one only. Leaders in the community may conduct propaganda through the newspapers in behalf of better schools, better streets, public playgrounds, prohibition, or any other cause.

The good citizen cannot well get along without the newspaper

and magazine. But he needs to keep in mind the fact that news items may be in error, and that the opinions expressed by editors and other writers usually represent the opinions of but a single group of people, which may be large or small, right or wrong. In most cases these writers are sincere, but there is always the chance for error. The intelligent citizen will not base his own opinions and actions solely on what he reads in *one* paper or magazine or book, but will seek to understand *all* sides of a question. He is helped to do this by the great variety of publications available representing every shade of belief, and by the freedom of speech and of the press under our system of government.

Freedom of speech and of the press does not mean that a citizen may always say anything he pleases in public. At no time has one the right to attack the character of another by false or malicious statements. This constitutes slander, or libel, and may be punished by the courts. In time of war freedom of speech and of the press may be restricted to an extent that would not be tolerated in time of peace, because if absolute freedom were permitted, information might be made public that would be helpful to the enemy, and propaganda started that would be dangerous to the public safety. But, even in war time, the people of a democracy chafe under restrictions upon free speech and a free press, and it is often a delicate question to determine how far such restriction is justifiable or wise.

Make a report on the invention of the printing press.

Make a list of the newspapers published in your city. Indicate the "politics" of each of them. Do these papers all take the same position in regard to public questions of national interest? In regard to public questions of purely local interest? Bring in illustrations of differences on such questions. How can you tell which of two papers is right when they differ on an important question?

Find out from your father what newspapers he reads regularly. Tabulate the result for the entire class.

Which is the most influential newspaper in your city? In your state? Why are these papers so influential? (Consult at home with regard to these questions, and report in class.)

Do you read a newspaper regularly? Do you read more than one?

Examine carefully the newspapers you take at home and make a list of the different "departments" (such as "sports," "society news," "local news," etc.).



TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Terminal Railway Station (right) and City Post Office (left), Washington, D.C.

What part of the paper do you turn to first when you read it? Ask your father and mother and other members of your family this question. Why the difference, if any?

What is the difference between a news story and an editorial?

What is the value of *cartoons* in a newspaper? Do you study them? Do they convey a story to you? Make a collection of cartoons that you think are particularly good and explain what each means.

Is any propaganda being conducted now in the newspapers you read? If so, explain what it is.

To what extent are newspaper and magazine advertisements useful in your own home?

Arrange for a visit to a newspaper office. Afterwards make a report on "the making of a newspaper."

What qualities must a good newspaper reporter possess? A good newspaper editor? Why, in each case?

As a class, get up a newspaper. (Coördinate this with English work.) Let various members of the class be reporters. Elect one or more editors. Gather first-hand news, and also items of interest from the daily newspapers. Have a department of national and world news, one of local news, and other departments as desired. Look especially for items relating to subjects studied in your civics class.

Report on the work of the Associated Press, or similar news agency.

Congress was given power by the Constitution "to establish post offices and post roads." There had been a postal service in the colonies before the Revolution. During the Revolution Benjamin Franklin was made Postmaster General, and he made the service as effective as it could well be made under the conditions that existed in those times. The plan that he devised was continued after the Constitution was adopted. In those days mails were sent from New York to Boston and to Philadelphia two or three times a week. They were carried on horseback or by stage and by boat. Sometimes a month was consumed by a trip that can now be made in a half-day. Postage cost from six cents to twenty-five cents for each letter, according to the distance it was carried, and had to be paid in cash in advance. Postage stamps were not introduced until 1847. Often mail was allowed to accumulate until there was enough to pay for the trip. The isolation of a remote rural community can well be imagined where the difficulties of communication were so great, and where the scarcity of money made postage an important item.

Post offices
and post
roads

In 1918 there were 54,345 post offices in the United States managed by the Post Office Department at Washington, besides nearly 600 in the Philippines managed by the War Department, and a few in the Panama Canal Zone. Of the 3,030 counties in the United States, 3,008 had rural mail routes aggregating more than a million miles in extent, serving more than 6 million families, and costing for operation more than 53 million dollars. This cost, however,

Rural mail
routes

amounts to only about \$1.90 for each person served, or a little more than one cent for each piece of mail handled. The aim is to make the postal service pay for itself, and in 1918 the receipts exceeded the expenditures by more than 60 million dollars.



Courtesy American Magazine of Art

THE MAIL TRAIN

A painting by F. D. Miller

to which is returned all mail that fails to reach its destination. In 1918 there were returned to the Dead Letter Division 14,451,953 pieces of mail. In these "dead letters" there were drafts, checks, money orders, and loose money, amounting to \$4,194,839.68. The failure of this mail to reach its proper destination is due in very large measure to carelessness in addressing and to failure to place on the envelope or package a return address. A great deal of loss and inconvenience could be avoided, and much labor and expense saved for the postal service, if every one would see that every piece of mail

The Post Office Department not only provides special services of the Post Office for the Department transportation of ordinary mail, but through its post offices it sells money orders for the transmission of money safely through the mails; it operates the parcel post; it administers the postal savings system (see p. 317). One of the interesting divisions of the Post Office Department is the Division of Dead Letters,

sent out is properly addressed and stamped, and has a return address in the upper left-hand corner.

The efficiency of the postal service depends very largely upon the means of transportation, from steamship and railway lines down to the country roads. Nothing else, perhaps, <sup>Transporta-
tion of the
mails</sup> has stimulated the improvement of roads so much as the rural mail service. It is the power granted by the Constitution to Congress to establish *post* roads that enables the federal government to aid the states in road improvement (see p. 272). The development of fast mail trains and the introduction of motor-truck service have been important steps in the improvement of the postal service in city and country. The latest development is the transportation of mail by airplane. An aerial mail route between Washington, D. C., and New York City was established May 15, 1918, over which a round trip is made daily, regardless of weather conditions. The flying time from Washington to New York, with a stop at Philadelphia, averages two hours and thirty minutes, or one half the time of the fastest trains. Other cities are connected by aerial mail routes, and the Post Office Department is planning an extensive airplane mail service from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with various side lines; also to the West Indies, Panama, and South America.

If it can be arranged for with your local post office authorities, make an excursion through your local main post office, tracing carefully all the operations necessary to handle the mail of your city. Write up a careful report.

How is the postmaster in your city chosen? Are all postmasters in the country chosen in the same way?

What are first-class, second-class, third-class, and fourth-class post offices?

What constitute first-class, second-class, third-class, and fourth-class mail? What is the rate of postage on each?

Who is the Postmaster General of the United States at the present time?

What can you find out about the International Postal Union?

Has rural mail delivery led to road improvement in your state? If so, give instances.

We need only mention the important part played by the telegraph, the submarine cable, and *radio-communication*, in **The telegraph** binding together our nation and the world as a whole. Without them the modern newspaper, with its daily news from every corner of the globe, would be



UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE AIRPLANE

The pilot has his route map fastened to his knee for ready reference.

impossible, and our coöperation in the great World War would have been extremely difficult. Although the first telegraph line in the United States was owned and operated by the government as a part of the postal service, the telegraph service of the country has since been in the hands of private corporations; except that during the war the Post Office Department took over the management of the telegraph and the telephone, as the Railroad Administration took over the transportation lines.

The telephone, which we take so much as a matter of course in our daily lives, has practically revolutionized community life in less than fifty years. We can hardly overestimate its value in connection with the transaction of **The telephone** business, in promoting social life, in the protection of the com-



THE FIRST TELEPHONE MESSAGE FROM WASHINGTON, D.C.
TO HAVANA, CUBA

President Harding is the fifth from the left. Next to him on the right is the Director-General of the Pan-American Union and next to him is Secretary of State Hughes. General Pershing is the third person from the left end of the picture.

munity and of the home. It has lifted the farmer out of his isolation, for there are 8,000 rural telephone systems in the United States, serving two million farm homes. As we sit in our homes we may converse with ease with persons in almost any part of the United States. And now the wireless telephone is coming into use. At the close of the recent war American aviators were talking with one another, and receiving orders from the ground, by this means; and since then wireless te-

lephony has been developed so that, while this chapter is being written, the President of the United States, in Washington, has conversed with the President of Cuba, in Havana.

Who was Samuel F. B. Morse? Who is Alexander Graham Bell? Marconi?

Make note of any items found in the newspapers and magazines regarding the advances made in wireless telegraphy and telephony.

What particular advantages has the telephone brought to your home?

What advantages has the telephone brought to your community in relation to business life? To social life? Safety of life and property?

Arrange a visit to a telephone exchange, and report on what you see. How can you coöperate to secure good telephone service in your community?

Do you have more than one telephone company in your city? If so why is it? What are the advantages and disadvantages of a single telephone system in a city?

Write a theme on "Modern Means of Communication and the Growth of a World Community."

READINGS

In *Lessons in Community and National Life*:

Series B: Lesson 10, Telephone and telegraph.

Series C: Lesson 1, The war and aëroplanes.

Lesson 9, Inventions.

The development of writing.

Picture Writing of the American Indians, 10th Annual Report of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, 1888-1889. This is profusely illustrated and very interesting.

The volume may be in the public library. It may be difficult to obtain, otherwise, unless through a representative in Congress.

Tylor, E. B., *Anthropology*, chaps. iv-vii (D. Appleton & Co.), and *Early History of Mankind*, chaps. ii-v (Henry Holt & Co.).

Given, J. L., *The Making of a Newspaper* (Henry Holt & Co.).

Annual Reports of the Postmaster General of the United States.

Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1918, pp. 13-24, 29-31, for a discussion of the necessity of eliminating illiteracy and teaching English to foreigners. There is much magazine literature on this subject.

CHAPTER XV

HIGHWAYS AND TRANSPORTATION

Two boys sat on a box in the May sunshine and watched a fast freight train rattle by. . . .

"Here's a funny thing," said Tom. "If you touch those rails you touch something that touches Chicago and New York."

"And Pittsburgh," Ranny added.

They climbed down from the box and laid ceremonial hands upon the track and were duly thrilled.¹

THIS observation of Tom and Ranny, if carried a little further, is one to thrill even older people than they; — the thought of being "in touch" with people and communities *everywhere* by means of the highways that cover the earth as with a net. We step out of our doorway into the city street and at once "touch something that touches" every other doorway in our city; and the city street is but a link in the network of highways that also includes country road, railway, and ocean route, and that "touches" not only Chicago and New York and Pittsburgh, but every community on the face of the earth. It will lead us *anywhere*, and it brings to our door, from near and far, the products of men's labor to supply our daily wants. Highways are the physical bonds that bind people together into communities, and the channels through which coöperation takes place.

"The problems of the street are the first, the last, and the greatest of the material problems of the city," says one writer. "It is the street that makes the city possible to begin with,

¹ From "Young-Man-Afraid-Of-His-Future," by Howard Brubaker, in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, May, 1921.

that permits the city's growth year by year, and that finally must check the increase of population and business by sheer inability to provide opportunity for movement. **The problem of the street** Here, by the coöperation of the whole community, a free way is provided, an 'open road,' a channel for traffic and transportation for the use of all alike. . . . The street is the symbol of the free city wherein all coöperate to secure opportunity for all."¹

Another writer says: "The streets of a city have been likened to the skeleton of the human body which fixes and determines the general contour of the body. Once established they are difficult and expensive to alter. Boston spent between 1829 and 1910 about \$40,000,000 widening, straightening, and extending streets."² An illustration of the difficulty and cost of altering streets when they are once fixed is found in Des Moines, Iowa:

The experience of Des Moines The northwest section of Des Moines has long been one of the best and most populous residential sections of the city. This section never had a satisfactory thoroughfare leading direct to the main business section. The car line makes no less than eight turns in going about two miles, and general traffic follows about the same route, zigzagging around the two sides of the squares in order to avoid grades and poor pavements.

There has always been a natural diagonal way of easy grades from the down-town district. . . . Thirty years ago this was a ravine, generally filled with flood water after a heavy rain, but about that time it was being provided with a large concrete box culvert, now known as Birds' Run sewer. The ravine was then filled up and the adjoining land reclaimed for use. At the time the sewer was built it was proposed to make a street up through the valley which followed the old ravine, and it could have been done for less than \$20,000 at that time. But objectors killed the proposition. Dwellings of the poorest kind and cheap business buildings were erected all through this district, until the ravine and sewer were almost forgotten.

But the northwest section was growing rapidly. The inconvenience and increased cost of the poor traffic were being felt more and more seriously every year. So in 1916 the Town Planning Committee proposed to the City Coun-

¹ D. F. Wilcox, in *The American City*, p. 28.

² Charles A. Beard, *American City Government*, p. 242.

cil, and the City Council immediately adopted, the necessary resolutions for the construction of a thoroughfare 110 feet wide, following this Birds' Run sewer and to be called Keosauqua Way.

Hardly had the City Council taken hold of the project vigorously with the intention of seeing it through, when opposition meetings were held all through the district and many protests were filed. These objections were finally overcome, however, by showing the advantages to be gained, and especially by showing the effect that the highway would have in increasing land values.



KEOSAUQUA WAY, DES MOINES, IOWA

This photograph shows buildings that are being removed for the construction of the diagonal highway connecting the business center with one of the best residential sections of the city.

Thirty years ago Keosauqua Way could have been built for less than \$20,000; to-day it will cost \$600,000, not counting the paving. During those years millions of dollars have been spent in time and inconvenience by the people going back and forth over the old crooked and roundabout way.¹

What is meant by one of the writers quoted above when he said that "it is the street that permits the city's growth year by year, and that finally must check the increase of population and business by sheer inability to provide opportunity for movement" is made clearer by another statement in the same book (written in 1904):

The increasing burden of the street

¹ Frank E. Wetherell, in *The American City* (magazine), October, 1920, p. 373.

The lower part of Manhattan Island is the business center of a metropolitan community of nearly five million people. And yet if skyscrapers were built everywhere that buildings now stand in the district below Fourteenth Street, office room could be provided for four or five times the amount of business now conducted there. New York streets, so aptly called "city cañons," simply could not accommodate the traffic that would be involved in this multiplication of business.

Another writer says:

London and Paris as well as New York and Chicago have found their thoroughfare systems choked with the ever-increasing burden that has been thrown upon them. . . . Street traffic is increasing so rapidly that roadways that a few decades ago seemed adequate for all time have become so congested as seriously to menace the prosperity of the city. Street traffic is increasing much more rapidly than population. If the growth of street traffic merely kept pace with the growth of population, the problem of making adequate provision for the future would be sufficiently difficult. It is probable, however, that the street burden will under normal conditions increase twice as fast as population. . . . As a city spreads and distances become too great for walking, it is natural that the per capita number of rides by vehicle and car should increase. . . . The result has been that as various cities have grown in population and area, a point has been reached where it has become physically impossible to handle a sufficient number of street cars at a reasonable speed over the surface of the streets to carry the traffic.¹

The introduction of the automobile has been an important factor in the increasing congestion of city streets. "The private automobile takes from two to twenty times as much street space per passenger carried as does the street car." While "in 1910 there were 500,000 motor cars in use in the United States, in 1918 there were 6,088,000." On the other hand, the use of the motor truck tends to relieve street congestion because of its greater capacity, speed, and ease of movement as compared with the horse-drawn truck; but the extent to which the motor truck can be economically used depends upon the adequacy of the thoroughfare system.

Extreme congestion means not only that street car service is disrupted, but that all trucking and commercial traffic is slowed down. The cost of

¹ Robert H. Whitten, in *The American City* (magazine), October, 1920, p. 351.

trucking is a much larger factor in the cost of most goods than is railroad freight. Many products are transferred by vehicle through city streets a half-dozen or more times before they reach the consumer. If, through street congestion, the time and cost of trucking goods are doubled, the toll due to congestion is certainly enormous. It is paid in part by the public in higher prices. It also places a serious handicap on city commerce and industry.¹



FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Note the congestion of traffic, and the electric device for traffic regulation

If the rapid growth of our cities and the invention of the automobile could have been foreseen, a great deal of the present difficulty of city transportation might have been avoided by wise planning of the city streets. Such planning would have included ample provision for direct thoroughfares from one part of the city to another, such as the new diagonal highway in Des Moines, or the radiating street system of Washington or of Indianapolis. It would also

The importance of a plan

¹ Robert H. Whitten, in *The American City*, October, 1920, p. 352.



TRANSPORTATION IN THE CITY STREET

Surface and elevated transportation, Herald Square, New York City

have allowed much greater width to many of the streets than is actually the case in most of our large cities. Failure to provide in advance for direct, wide highways has necessitated reconstruction in many cities, at enormous cost, as in the cases of

Des Moines and Boston already noted. Small cities that are rapidly growing, or that give promise of growth, have little excuse for failure to plan for the future, or for making such a mistake of judgment as that made by Des Moines twenty-five or thirty years ago. Such cities should profit by the experience of older and larger cities.

Is the comparison of the streets of a city to the skeleton of the body a good one?

In what respect are the streets of a city like the arteries of the human body?

What is there in a city that might be compared to the nerves of the body? Explain.

Is the street system of your city well planned to provide for the needs of transportation of people and commodities? In what respects do you think it is faulty? Study a street map of your city.

What is the width of the street you live on? Of that on which your school is located? Are these streets wide enough? How do they compare in width with the principal business streets?

Have you any narrow or crooked business streets in your city? If so, how did it happen?

Has your city a problem of street congestion? If so, what are the causes? How is your city attempting to meet the problem?

Explain fully why traffic tends to increase at least twice as rapidly as population.

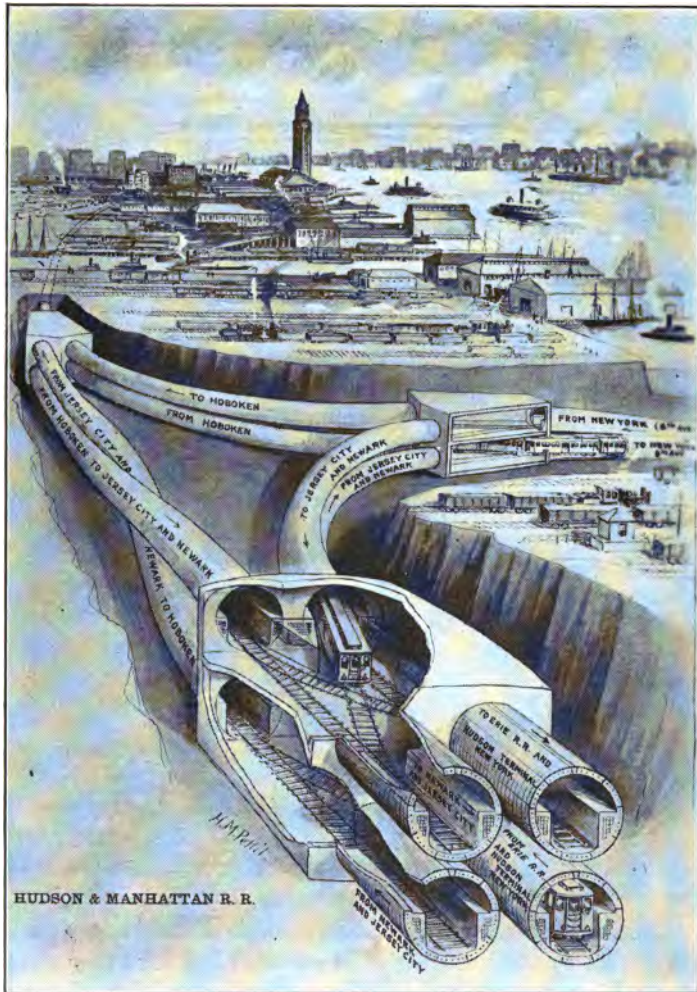
Write a theme on "The influence of the automobile on the growth of our city."

Explain in detail how congestion of traffic tends to increase the price of food.

What experience has your city had in widening or straightening streets, or in constructing new highways through the heart of the city? If there has been such experience, gather such facts as you can regarding the cost to the city. How was the cost met?

Some of our largest cities have sought to relieve congestion in the streets by the construction of elevated and subway systems of railways. Both of these methods of transportation have naturally been developed farthest in New York City which, in 1916, had over 1,600 miles of surface, elevated, and subway trackage over which nearly

Efforts to
relieve
congestion



HUDSON RIVER TUBES

A diagram showing subway tubes as they emerge from under the Hudson River and branch off in different directions at different levels

two billion passengers were carried in that year. More than 600 miles of this trackage is included in New York's elevated and subway systems. The elevated and subway trains are almost always crowded, and at "rush hours" are packed to suffocation, but without apparent effect upon the congestion of traffic in the streets.

In addition to a convenient general plan and a suitable width of streets, the method of construction is of great importance. Here again recent changes in modes of transportation are an important factor. Old methods of paving do not stand the wear and tear of countless automobiles and ponderous motor trucks. The old "macadam" pavement, for example, made by rolling crushed stone into a solid mass, quickly wears out under heavy traffic, although it may still be used under conditions of lighter traffic. The rough cobblestone pavement, once common in many cities, is not only noisy (less so, now, under rubber tires), but it impedes rapid movement of traffic. The most common paving materials in cities are granite blocks, vitrified brick, wooden blocks, and asphalt, each of which has its advantages under given conditions of traffic.

Badly laid pavements have been the source of enormous waste of money. They quickly get out of repair, thus impeding traffic and requiring new expenditures of money for repair or rebuilding. Even with the best of pavements, constant inspection and prompt repair of defects in the pavements are necessary in the interest of economy, of traffic facilitation, of appearance, and of health. The responsibility for street construction and repair is ordinarily placed with a department of public works. The building of a street requires expert engineering and workmanship, which have too frequently not been provided. Under our more modern forms of city government (see Chapter XXVI) more attention is given than formerly to securing expert service in street construction. It is the common practice to assess the major part of

Pavements

Expert direction and public support

the cost of street improvement against the owners of abutting property, on the ground that this property is most directly benefited.

Proposals of street improvement are likely to be met with opposition from abutting property owners. Such improvements should of course not be undertaken without a careful weighing of the advantages against the costs, and a careful consideration of the interests of the entire community. Very often such opposition is short-sighted, as in the case of the construction of Keosauqua Way in Des Moines (see page 258). In that case, "without exception the abutting properties have more than doubled in value, some of them five times." Where "business property has been valued at \$50 per front foot for years, owners are now refusing \$200." The owner of "a four-family brick flat building valued at \$14,000 to \$16,000 was recently offered \$42,000."

Report on the history of the development of street railways in your city (1) with regard to their extension, (2) with regard to changes in motive power, (3) with regard to improvements in service.

Report on the relation between the development of street railways service and the growth of different sections and suburbs of your city.

Has street railway fare increased recently in your city? If so, why? Who determines what street railway fare shall be? Can the street railway company increase the fare at will? Why?

What materials are used for street pavements in your city? In your home street? In the street on which your school is located? In the principal business streets? Are these materials well chosen with regard to the use to which the streets are put?

Get (or make) photographs of the different kinds of pavement in your city.

Describe, with the use of diagrams, the methods of laying the different kinds of pavement.

What control is exercised over street pavement in your city to see that it is well laid?

Are there unpaved streets in your city? Pavements that have notoriously failed to wear well? Where are such streets? How does it happen that there are such streets?

Are the pavements in your city kept in good repair? Who is responsible for street repair? If your street is in poor repair, how would you proceed to have it put in good repair?

How is the cost of paving met in your city? The cost of street repairs? Are they met in the same way?

Do proposed street improvements meet with opposition in your city? How does a householder proceed if he wants to protest against the improvement of his street?

Who decides finally, in your city, whether a street shall be improved or not?

Gather information regarding the effect of particular street improvements in your city on property values.

What department of your city government has control over street construction?

Arrange for an excursion to the office of your city engineer to inspect plans and drawings of street improvements now under way or proposed, and to have his duties explained.

“The streets of a modern city are far more than mere highways for surface use. Railway cars run above and below as well as on the surface; messages, light, heat, and power are sent through aerial or underground wires; pipes beneath the streets bring us water, gas, and steam; still other conduits remove liquid wastes from our dwellings and surface and subsoil water from our yards and streets.”¹ The streets of a city are common property, and all that is in them, as described in the foregoing quotation, is for the common welfare. Important as all these things are, they should not be permitted to interfere with the freest use of the streets for their original purpose — the movement of traffic. The laying and maintenance of tracks, wires, and pipes often do interfere with traffic, and with safety, and even infringe upon the property rights of the people in the streets (see Chapter XXI, pp. 398). Well-governed cities have adopted measures to prevent this. The franchises granted to public service corporations (see pp. 397–399) now usually impose obligations upon them to safeguard the rights of the people. Elevated structures are kept off the main streets. Surface lines are permitted only in streets wide enough to accommodate them. Trolley, telephone, telegraph, and light wires are being placed underground instead of being permitted to mar the beauty and jeopardize the safety of

Public utilities in the streets

¹ M. N. Baker, *Municipal Engineering and Sanitation*, p. 11.

the streets. Excavations made for sewers, water mains, and other purposes, must be made in a way to interfere as little as possible with the use of the street, and the pavements replaced in their original condition. Street railway companies are made responsible for maintaining the pavement between their tracks.

We have already noted the relation that the public street bears to the community's health (page 171), to the recreation of the people (page 198), to safety (page 164), and to the beauty of the community (pages 214-216). "The street is the symbol of the free city wherein all coöperate to secure opportunity for all." The street can perform its varied services to the fullest extent only when all who use it coöperate at all times to make it possible. Every person who uses the street has a share of responsibility for the freedom of traffic movement, and for its safety, its healthfulness, its appearance.

Find out just what wires, pipes, and other "utilities" exist under the pavements of your city streets. Try to get sufficient information to enable you to draw a diagram of one of your streets, showing the placing of these utilities.

To what extent have overhead wires been removed from your streets and placed underground? Give all the reasons that occur to you for placing wires underground. What reasons are advanced for not removing them?

What is the experience of your city with regard to the injury of pavements by excavations for "public utilities"?

Discuss the meaning of the statement that "the street is the symbol of the free city wherein all coöperate to secure opportunity for all."

In what ways can you coöperate to make this statement true of your city?

Good country roads are of great importance to the people of cities as well as to farmers and rural communities. An excellent illustration of the recognition of the common interest of city and country in the public roads, and of effective coöperation in improving them, was given in Chapter VI, page 70, in the case of Christian County, Kentucky. The wide use of the automobile has done a great deal to awaken the people of cities to their interest in country roads.

**Responsi-
bility of the
citizen**

**Value of
country roads
to cities**

The roads of one county may be of the greatest importance to other counties in the state; and those of one state of importance to other states. The crossties produced from the timber of a Virginia county may be wanted for railroad building in a distant state. The cotton from the plantations of Tennessee or Texas is needed at the mills in New England. The wheat of the great farms of the northwest supplies the whole nation. Most of the freight carried on the railroads and steamships has at some time and in some form been hauled in wagons and trucks over country roads. It is clear, then, that the character of the highways in any locality is a matter of national, and even of world-wide, interest.

**Good roads
not merely of
local concern**

When our nation was created, the question of highways at once became very important. The states needed to be bound together, and the public lands settled. The Constitution gave Congress the power "to establish post offices and post roads," and "to regulate commerce . . . among the several states"; but it was not clear how far these powers could be exercised for "internal improvements." Roads were proposed in great numbers. In 1806 Congress authorized the building of the Cumberland Road, which began at Cumberland, Md., and was finally completed as far west as Illinois. Road building was, however, left chiefly to the states and to private enterprise. Many "turnpikes" were built by private companies, which charged tolls for their use.

**Early national
interest in
road building**

The building of many canals and, later, the coming of railroads caused interest in public highways to decline, and their building was left almost wholly to local initiative, where it remained until very recently. The result is that the United States has had the poorest roads in the civilized world. Local communities could not afford to employ expert officials to plan and supervise road construction.

**Poor roads
in the
United States**

Under these conditions the road situation became so bad that public sentiment was gradually aroused on the subject.

State control was agitated. New Jersey was the first state to pass a law placing the highways within the state under state regulation. Other states followed New Jersey's example, until by 1914 forty-two states had state highway departments. These differ greatly from one another in organization, powers, and efficiency.



TRANSPORTATION BY WAGON AND MOTOR TRUCK

In a number of states, *state highways* have been built, paid for and managed by the state. California has two trunk lines running the entire length of the state, with branch lines connecting them with the county seats. To January 1, 1914, Massachusetts had completed more than 1,000 miles of state highways. New York has an extensive system, and Maryland is another example. But the plan most commonly in use is state aid and supervision in the

Recent progress under state control

construction of roads by counties. This was the New Jersey plan. By it, plans for road improvement with state aid in any county must be approved by the state highway department, and construction is supervised by state engineers. The cost is divided between the state and the local community.

In New Jersey the property owners along the highway, who of course are most directly benefited, were to pay one tenth of the cost, the state one third, and the county the remainder. In Wisconsin, the board of county commissioners in each county is required to plan a "county system" of highways to be a part of the state system. The cost of each county system is divided equally among township, county, and state. The work is directed by a county highway commissioner, but in accordance with plans and specifications of the state highway commission. In Ohio a system of "inter-county highways" is being built, connecting all the county seats of the state. Counties, towns, and property owners along the highway must provide an amount equal to that provided by the state, and the work is under the direction of the state highway department.

In Virginia the cost of highway construction is divided equally between state and local community; but the counties often accept from the state the labor of prison convicts instead of money. Convict labor on the roads is quite common in southern states.

Our roads, even in remote rural districts, are of national importance for the reasons stated on page 269. Moreover, they are becoming more and more used for the transportation of freight and passengers over long distances, for which the introduction of the automobile and the motor truck is responsible. Therefore, national coöperation is necessary for adequate road improvement.

The work of the national government in behalf of good roads has heretofore been largely educational and advisory. In 1893 the Office of Road Inquiry (now the Office of Public Roads) was created in the United States Department of Agriculture to investigate methods of road making and management. The results of its investigations have been published for the benefit of the country, advice given when asked for. Here

Work of the
national gov-
ernment for
road im-
provement

and there model or experimental roads were constructed to test new methods or to serve as object lessons to the localities where they were built. Good road building has been greatly stimulated by the extension of the rural free mail delivery. The national government has also given to many states public lands within their borders, the proceeds from which were to be used for road construction; and a part of the proceeds from the sale of timber in the national forests is devoted to road building in the locality.

In 1916, Congress passed the law known as the Federal Aid Road Act. This law places the national government in the same relation to the states, in the matter of road building, that the state governments have borne to the counties in granting state aid.

The Federal Aid Road Act appropriated 75 million dollars to aid states in improving their "rural post roads," and 10 million dollars for the construction and maintenance of roads in the national forests. The money is given to the states only on their request, and on condition that each state shall provide an amount equal to that received from the national treasury.

The administration of the law is in the hands of the Office of Public Roads. When a state desires aid from the national government, its highway department must draw up plans for the improvements proposed and submit them to the district engineer, who in turn submits them with recommendations to the Secretary of Agriculture, whose approval they must have. Having obtained this approval, the work is carried on by the state as in the case of other roads entirely under state control.

The immediate effect of the law has been to cause the organization of state highway departments in the few states that did not already have them, and the reorganization of such departments in the states where they were weak; for the Federal Aid Road Act provides that aid may be

given to the states only on condition that they have effective highway departments. Every state in the Union now has a highway department, and road improvement is going on at a rate never before known.

Has your state a good reputation for its country roads?

Explain particular ways in which country roads are of importance to your city.

Report on the influence of good roads upon rural prosperity and well-being (see Dunn, *Community Civics and Rural Life*, pp. 248-258, and other references at the end of the chapter).

Do the residents of your city help pay for country road improvement in your vicinity?

Do bad country roads in your vicinity cost the people of your city anything? Explain.

Make a report on any movement for good roads that may exist in your state.

To what extent is transportation by motor truck being used between your city and other cities? Consult your father, or business friends, as to the likelihood of such means of transportation being developed. What advantages and disadvantages does it present? What effect is it likely to have upon road improvement?

Report on the organization and work of the state highway commission of your state.

Has your state a system of "state highways"? If so, trace on a map the routes of these highways. Report on their history and their value.

Do you know of any toll roads or toll bridges in your state? If so, where are they? Report on their history.

Report on the history of the Cumberland Road. Show its route on a map.

What and where is the "Lincoln Highway"?

Report on the work of the Office of Public Roads in the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Railroads have been one of the principal factors in the growth of cities and in the development of our nation.

Without them the great territory of the United States could hardly have been held together as a single nation.

Railroads have been developed chiefly by private enterprise. They are owned by private corporations which do business under charters granted by the government and are regulated by law. Control over them has been exercised chiefly by the state

Railroads

governments, except in matters affecting interstate commerce, which falls under the control of Congress. Practically all of our states now have railroad commissions, or "public utilities" commissions, which regulate the rates that may be charged, and the service that must be performed by the railroads in the several states. As



A RAILROAD YARD

Our freight transportation difficulties have been due largely to a lack of adequate terminal facilities.

the parts of our country have become more closely bound together and interdependent, largely by the influence of the railroads themselves, an increasingly large part of commerce has become "interstate" in character, and railway transportation has become more and more a national concern. The result is an increasing control by the national government.

In 1887 Congress created an Interstate Commerce Commission with power to inquire into the management of the business of "common carriers," such as railroads, steamship lines, and express companies. It was later given power to fix rates which such carriers could charge. Other

laws were passed, such as the Sherman Act, or "Anti-Trust Law," of 1890, which made unlawful any "contract, combination . . . or conspiracy in restraint of trade," which checked abuses that characterized railroad management at that time. (See Chapter XIX.)

As we have seen in our study of street traffic (page 261), transportation costs enter very largely into the prices of commodities and the cost of living. It is necessary for government to see that transportation companies do not for their own profit impose unjust rates. On the other hand, state and national commissions are not permitted to impose rates so low as to be unfair to the transportation companies. To do so has been held by the courts to be in violation of the constitutional provision that no one shall be deprived of property without due process of law. (See Constitution, Amendment V.) The determination of just transportation rates is a very difficult and delicate task.

The cost and comfort of living depend also upon the service rendered by transportation companies, as well as upon their rates. It frequently happens that there is a scarcity of food products, or of coal, in one locality while an abundance exists at the sources of production or at the market centers. This means high prices and discomfort in the regions of scarcity, while producers in other sections can hardly sell their products at any price. Both producers and consumers thus suffer hardship. It may be the fault of transportation companies, when they think more of their own profit than of community service. It may be the fault of unwise laws or of rates so low as to prevent the transportation companies from keeping up their equipment and service. Or it may be due to other more remote causes, such as a more rapid growth of population than the transportation companies can keep up with. In any case, we can see the very great difficulty, as well as the importance, of wise control by government, and of intelli-

Transportation rates and the cost of living

Transportation service and the public welfare

gent understanding by the people of their transportation problems.

When the United States entered the recent war, the need for effective transportation service led the government to take unusual steps to secure it. The President issued a proclamation by which, in the exercise of his *war powers*, he "took possession and assumed control of each and every system of transportation in the United States and the appurtenances thereof." This meant assuming control over 397,000 miles of railways owned by 2,905 corporations and employing more than 1,700,000 persons. The management of this great transportation system was intrusted to a Railroad Administration with a Director General of Railroads at its head. The ownership of these railroads, however, remained with the private companies, which were to receive compensation for the use of their property, and were to receive back the railroads after the war was over. This return of the railroads to their owners has now taken place.

The whole purpose of the government in its management of the railroads was to win the war, the convenience of the public being a minor consideration. The people cheerfully put up with inconveniences of travel and with rates that they had not experienced while the roads were under private management. On the other hand, there were certain decided advantages in the management of all railroads as one great system. It meant the consolidation of competing lines that the law itself prevented the railway companies from effecting, it meant shortening routes in many cases, the use of common freight terminals by different lines, the increase of track facilities and storage areas at seaport terminals, the selling of passenger tickets good over any one of several roads running between two points.

There are those who believe that the railroads should be managed, or even owned, by the government in time of peace

as well as during war. There are others who believe as strongly in private ownership and direction. Many of the latter believe, however, that a more perfect control should be exercised over the privately owned roads by the government under laws that protect the interests of the public and that at the same time



THE DOCK

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permit, or even require, greater coöperation among the roads than has heretofore existed. Since the war, bills have been introduced in Congress looking to these ends.

In early days rivers were used for transportation to a large extent, and canals were proposed in great numbers. Some of these were built and carried a large amount of **Water trans-**portation. The coming of the railroads caused **water** transportation to decline, to the nation's great loss. The war stimulated the use of our waterways to a considerable extent,

and any scheme for transportation control in the future should provide for their fullest development as a means of marketing the products of our farms, forests, mines, and factories.



MODERN METHODS OF HANDLING A SHIP'S CARGO

"We discovered methods of shipbuilding, and of loading and unloading ships when they are built, that will probably enable us to maintain permanently a merchant marine."

There was also a time, in the early part of our history, when our seaports swarmed with American ships that sailed every sea. Our shipping afterward declined because other nations built and manned ships more cheaply than we could do. We allowed these other nations to carry our commerce. We deplored the fact that our merchant marine had disappeared, and discussed ways and means to restore it. But all to no purpose, until the great war came; then we *had* to have ships. Congress created the United States Shipping Board and its Emergency Fleet Corporation. As a result,

and within a year's time, the United States took rank as the leading shipbuilding nation in the world. It had more shipyards, more shipways, more ship workers, more ships under construction, and was building more ships every month during the war than any other country.¹ Under the stress of necessity methods of shipbuilding and operation were developed that ought to make it possible for the United States to compete successfully in the future with other nations, even though our workmen and sailors are paid more than those of other nations. By our merchant marine the American farmer and the American business man are brought into touch with the remotest parts of the earth.

As a result of the war our government came into possession of a great fleet of merchant ships. Since the war, however, it has been seeking to sell these ships as rapidly as possible to private corporations. This is in harmony with the traditional policy of our government to leave business enterprise as largely as possible to private initiative. It will be interesting to watch the newspapers and magazines to see what measures our government may take to maintain permanently our merchant fleet.

How have railroads benefited your city?

What railway systems enter your city? What are the most important cities with which each of these systems brings your city "in touch"? What special interdependence can you show between any of these cities and your city? (Obtain railroad maps from the offices of the roads.)

What parts of the United States would perhaps have been most likely to have maintained an independent existence if railroads had not been introduced?

Look up the story of the first steam railway in the United States. Also the story of the building of the first transcontinental railway.

What control does your state government exercise over the railroads within your state borders? How is this control exercised?

Report on the work of the United States Interstate Commerce Commission.

What are the principal arguments for and against government ownership of railroads?

¹ "Shipping Facts," issued by the U.S. Shipping Board, September, 1918.

What reasons exist for the public ownership of highways that do not apply to public ownership of railroads?

What control over railroads does our national government exercise to-day that it did not exercise before the World War?

Who are some of the men who have been most influential in the development of railroads in the United States?

What are some of the more important canals in use in the United States to-day? Why do these canals retain their importance in spite of the development of railroads?

What is the importance of the Panama Canal to the United States? To the world at large?

What are some of the other great canals that are of world-wide importance?

What kinds of commodities are transported by water more economically than by rail? Why is this so? What are the principal commodities transported in ships on the Great Lakes?

Why is it desirable that the United States should have its own merchant marine rather than depend upon the ships of other nations to transport our commerce?

What are the duties of the United States Shipping Board at the present time?

Watch for items in the newspapers and articles in the magazines relating to our merchant marine. Report to the class the substance of what you read.

READINGS

Reports of your city government relative to streets.

Beard, Charles A., *American City Government*, chap. ix, "The Streets of the City."

Wilcox, Delos F., *The American City* (Macmillan), chap. ii, "The Street."

The American City (magazine). Every issue has valuable material relating to streets, roads, pavements, public utilities, etc.

Dunn, Arthur W., *Community Civics and Rural Life*, pp. 248-257, for discussion of country roads.

County reports relating to road construction and improvement.

Reports of State Highway Commission.

State management of public roads, *Year Book*, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1914, pp. 211-226.

Publications of Office of Public Roads, U.S. Department of Agriculture. Write also to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, for price list of documents relating to the subject of roads.

Farmers' Bulletins relating to marketing and transportation facilities, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

In *Lessons in Community and National Life*:

Series A: Lesson 26, Concentration of control in the railroad industry.

Series B: Lesson 27, Good roads.

Series C: Lesson 25, A seaport as a center of concentration of population and wealth.

Lesson 27, Early transportation in the Far West.

Lesson 28, The first railway across the continent.

Consult public library for magazine literature on the subject of roads, railroads, river transportation, etc. For example, in the *Review of Reviews*, February, 1918, there are the following articles:

"Uncle Sam Takes the Railroads."

"The World's Greatest Port" (New York).

"New York Canals a Transportation Resource."

"River Navigation — a War Measure."

Hart, A. B., *Actual Government*, chap. xxvii. (Longmans, Green & Co.)

CHAPTER XVI

EARNING A LIVING

"There is a sentimentality which would make it appear that in some millennial day man will not work. If some such calamity ever blights us, then man will fail and fall back. God is wise. His first and His greatest gift to man was the obligation cast upon him to labor. The march of civilization is the epic of man as a workingman and that is the reason why labor must be held high always."—FRANKLIN K. LANE.

THE most conspicuous activities that we see going on in the community are usually those that have to do with earning a living or the production of wealth.¹ Indeed, some people become so absorbed in the business of earning a living that they seem to be *living to earn* rather than *earning to live*. It does not do to forget that not *earning*, but *living*, is the real end in view. Unless we know how to use what we earn to provide properly for all of our normal wants, the effort we spend in earning is very largely wasted.

Nevertheless, before we can enjoy a living it has to be earned, by ourselves or by some one else; and the activities by which it is earned occupy so important a place in our lives, are so closely dependent upon the community, have so much to do with our citizenship, and receive so much attention from government

¹ The activities by which we earn a living are also the activities by which wealth is produced. It is important to understand that when we speak of "wealth" we do not necessarily mean *great* wealth. A boy who has a fifty-cent knife, or a girl who has a twenty-five-cent purse, has wealth as truly as the man who owns a well-stocked farm. The difference is merely in kind and amount. Food, clothing, houses, books, tools, are all forms of wealth. Any material thing, for which we are willing to work and make sacrifices because it satisfies our wants, is wealth. Earning a living is merely earning or producing wealth to satisfy our wants and those of others.

that we must give them some consideration in this chapter and several chapters following.

While young people are spending most of their time at school or at play, their fathers and other grown people are usually chiefly occupied in the business of making a living or "earning money."¹ Children are, as a rule, wholly dependent upon their parents for their living. But during their period of dependence they are gaining skill and experience, in school and otherwise, that will later enable them to earn their own living and that of other people who may, in turn, become dependent upon them.

As adult life approaches, there comes an increasing desire for independence of others, to have possessions, own property, or accumulate wealth. Our *vocations*, or occupations, by which we earn a livelihood, come to occupy a prominent place in our thought, and to a large extent control our activity. Doubtless most of those who read this chapter have begun to think more or less seriously about what they are going to do for a living. Some may be already doing so, in part, or helping to earn that of their families; but most boys and girls have more or less

¹ Gold and silver and paper and wood are forms of wealth. Out of wood we make a yardstick or a peck measure with which to measure quantities of cloth or grain. In a similar manner, out of gold, silver, paper, and other materials, we make money, and for a similar reason, namely, to measure the value of wealth. When we speak of a *fifty-cent knife* and a *twenty-five-cent purse*, we measure the value of these articles. It would take thousands of *dollars* to measure the value of a large business or a handsome home.

When we say that a boy earns a dollar, or that a man earns \$4.00 a day, we measure the value of his work or his service. A man may make a direct exchange of his services for something he needs to satisfy his wants, as when he works for his "board and lodging." But he usually receives all or part of the reward for his services in money, because with the money he can buy clothing and other things which his employer cannot give him. Thus money becomes something more than a measure of wealth or of services; it is also a *means of exchanging wealth or services*.

These are the two uses of money. Money has value only because of what it represents in wealth, and wealth is useful because it enables us to satisfy wants. These things are mentioned because it is quite important that we should never forget that "money" and "wealth" are worth working for only because of the "living," or life, that they help us to attain.

regularly "earned money," even if they have not considered it necessary for their living. An inquiry in a large, first-year high school class disclosed the fact that the girls of the class, quite as much as the boys, were thinking of their choice of vocation. More avenues are open to girls to-day than formerly by which to earn their living outside of the family; but even



HELPING TO EARN THE FAMILY LIVING

the management of a home is a business as truly as the management of a factory or an office, and is an exceedingly important factor in the earning of the family living (see pages 108-113).

What part, if any, do you have in helping to earn the family living?

What have you done during the past year to earn money (a) out of school hours on school days, (b) on Saturdays, (c) in vacation time? Tabulate the results for the entire class.

What vocation would you like to follow for life? Why?

If you have not decided upon some one vocation, name several that seem attractive to you. Why are they attractive?

What do you know about the opportunities and the qualifications necessary for success in the vocations you have named? How may you proceed to find out more about them?

What vocations offer especial opportunities for girls and women to-day?

How do these opportunities compare with those when your mothers were girls?

Make a list of the occupations of the fathers (or other members of the families) of the members of your class.

Make a list of as many occupations in your community as you can think of.

Our dependence upon others for a living by no means ends with childhood. There is no such thing as an entirely "self-made man," by which is meant a man who has been **Dependence of the pioneer** successful entirely by his own efforts. It is true that the primitive hunter and the pioneer farmer were independent of others to an unusual extent (see page 14). But their living was a meager one, and they could not accumulate much wealth. The very land that a pioneer occupies, even though it is extensive and fertile, has little value as long as it is remote from centers of population.

Even if a pioneer laid claim to a large tract of land, he could produce little wealth from it in crops if he could get no help to cultivate it, or if he had no improved machinery (made by others); and whatever he produced, he and his family could eat but little of the product. He could feed some to his few animals, and he would save some for seed; but anything that he raised above what he could actually use would have no value unless he could get it to other people who wanted it. If he could not sell what he produced, neither could he buy what others produced.

Under present-day conditions, a farmer who raises wheat probably uses none of it himself. He sells his entire crop for the use of others, while to supply himself and his **Dependence of the modern farmer** family with bread he goes to the store and buys flour that may have been milled in Minnesota from wheat raised by other farmers, perhaps in North Dakota or South Dakota. In exchange for his wheat he also gets clothing manufactured in New York or New England from cotton raised in Georgia or Texas, or from wool grown in Montana. He buys

a wagon made in Indiana from lumber cut in the South and iron mined in Michigan and smelted in Ohio. Thus he earns his living by producing food for other people, while the things he uses in living are the product of labor expended by other people in the effort to earn *their* living. We noticed in Chapter II how many people and occupations were concerned in producing a pair of shoes (page 20).



PICKING COTTON TO CLOTHE THE WORLD

While a worker may be interested primarily in providing for his own wants and those of his family, he can do this only by producing something or performing service for others; and while each worker may be most concerned about *what he receives* for his work, the community is most concerned about *what he produces*. Earning a living has two sides to it: rendering service to others and being paid for the service rendered. It is as if the community entered into a sort of agreement with the worker to the effect that it will provide him with a living in return for definite service to



1. LOGGING



2. THE CEMENT AGE



Courtesy American Magazine of Art

3. BUILDERS

SOME FORMS OF SERVICE

Mural decorations in High School, Grand Rapids, Mich.

the community or for the product of his labor. What we call "business" is *selling a service*. It may be personal service, such as teaching, or prescribing medicine, or nursing, or giving legal advice, or cutting hair, or driving a team, or running an automobile. Or it may be purchasing, storing, retailing, and deliver-

ing things which have been produced perhaps many hundreds or thousands of miles away. Or it may be raising foodstuffs on the farm, or mining fuels and metals from the earth, or cutting timber from the forest. Or it may be manufacturing — buying materials and converting them into products serviceable to others. Whatever it is, every man's business is also the community's business, and the community has a right to expect industry and honest, efficient work from every worker.

Discuss the occupations named in answer to the two questions on page 285, from the point of view of their service to the community.

To what extent is your father's business or occupation dependent upon the business or occupation of the fathers of other members of the class?

Show how your father's business is also the community's business.

What is the price of land in your neighborhood? Consult your father or friends in regard to the increase or decrease in price in recent years and the reasons for it.

There are exceptional cases where people *receive* a living without *earning* it. One class of such people is represented by thieves, gamblers, swindlers, and persons engaged in occupations that are positively harmful to the community. Such people may be very skillful and they may work hard enough, but they take what others have earned without producing anything of value to the community.

Then there are those who are incapable of productive work because of physical defects, or through the feebleness of old age. It is the duty of every citizen to provide, as far as possible, during his productive years, for the "rainy day" of misfortune or advancing age. For those who cannot do so, the community must provide.

Very young children are users of wealth produced by others. It is expected, however, that children will in later years make return to the community for what they have received during their period of dependence.

Some people inherit wealth, or otherwise come into possession of it without effort on their part. The wealth so received, however, has been earned by some one, or has come **Inherited** from the community in some way. If the person **wealth** who so receives it uses it in a way that is highly useful to the community, he may in a sense earn it even after he receives it; but if he uses it solely for his own enjoyment, without effort to make it highly useful to the community, he does not in any sense earn it, and places himself in the class of those who are wholly dependent upon the community.

On the other hand, there are people who do not get for their work a living that fairly compensates them for the service they render by it to the community. If our community life were perfectly adjusted in all its parts; **Unfair compensation for service** if all the people clearly recognized their common interests and their interdependence; if they had the spirit of coöperation and were wise enough to devise smoothly working machinery of coöperation; — then the returns that a worker received for his work would be closely proportionate to the service rendered by his work. That is, he would *get what he earned*, so far as wages or profits were concerned. But this is one of the particulars in which our community life is still imperfect. Where so many different kinds of workers are engaged in producing shoes, for example, it is extremely difficult to determine how much each should be paid for his share of the work. What *wages* should be given to the different classes of workers who care for the cattle, make the leather, manufacture the machines with which the shoes are made, operate the machines, mine the coal and iron for the production of the machines, and so on? What *profits* shall be allowed to the men who raise the cattle, to the merchants who sell the shoes and the machines, and to the transportation companies that carry them from the factories to the dealers? What *interest* shall be received by the men who furnish the *capital* necessary to run the factories and

the farms? These questions relating to the *distribution of wealth* that men produce have proved very difficult to answer satisfactorily.

A very useful and interesting, but rather difficult, science has grown up to explain the *production, distribution, and use of wealth*. It is called the *science of economics*. Of all the divisions of this science, that relating to the distribution of wealth is the most perplexing. It is the inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the sense of injustice produced by these inequalities, and sometimes a failure to understand what a fair distribution is, that have caused most of the labor disputes referred to in Chapter XVIII (pages 327, 337).

Have you ever heard any one say, "The world owes me a living"? Is this a true statement? If so, in what sense do you think it is true?

Which do you think is the truer statement: "I have a right to a living," or "I have a right to earn a living"? Discuss the difference.

A thief has been known to say, "I was brought into the world without my own consent; therefore the world owes me a living, and I owe the world nothing." Is this good argument? Did the people upon whom he depends for a living have any more to say about their being brought into the world than he had?

What things are you using to-day that were not provided for you by others?

If a stranger should come to your community to-day to live, what are some of the things that he would find already provided by the community for his use in making a living?

Name five important inventions and state what they have done for you.

Would you say that the world owes Thomas A. Edison and Luther Burbank a living? Why?

How are you indebted for your living to the pioneers who settled your state? to Robert Fulton? to the men who built the first transcontinental railroad?

Can you think of some way in which your family is indebted for its living to the British nation? to France? to ancient Greece? to the Phœnicians? to the people of Brazil?

Which is the greater, the debt of your family to the world or the debt of the world to your family?

What is a "parasite"? Could this term be appropriately applied to any of the people referred to in the last few paragraphs of the text above?

Each citizen has a right to feel that the government is interested in his individual prosperity and happiness; and it is, for unhappy and discontented citizens are seldom good citizens. But the government represents the community as a whole, and has the interest of the community as a whole in its keeping rather than the interest of particular individuals. Its interest is primarily in what each citizen *produces*, for it is upon this that the strength of the nation depends.

A few days after war was declared against Germany, the President made an appeal to his fellow countrymen, in which he said:

**Government
interested in
production**

**The
"national
service
army" of
producers**

"It is evident to every thinking man that our industries on the farms, in the shipyards, in the mines, in the factories, must be made more prolific and more efficient than ever and that they must be more economically managed and better adapted to the particular requirements of our task than they have been; and what I want to say is that the men and women who devote their thought and their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battlefield or in the trenches. The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great international Service Army, — a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the nation and the world. . . . Thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, of men otherwise liable to military service will of right and necessity be excused from that service and assigned to the fundamental, sustaining work of the fields and factories and mines, and they will be as much part of the great patriotic forces of the nation as the men under fire."

The nation needs the productive work of each citizen in time of peace as truly as in time of war, although when it is not fighting for its very life it is more tolerant of those who do not contribute efficiently by their work to the common good. It carries them along somehow. But such members of the community are a burden and a source of weakness at all times. Therefore, for example, there are in most of our communities laws against vagrancy; that is, against willful and habitual idlers

"without visible means of support," such as beggars and tramps.

There are times when many men are "out of work." In times of business depression the number may become very great, while in prosperous times the number dwindles; but always there are some. It is often through no fault of their own; it is another result of the imperfect adjustment of our community life. It often happens that while large numbers of men are unable to find work in industrial centers, the farmers may be suffering for want of help. This may be merely because there is no way by which to let workmen know where they are needed, or of distributing them to meet the need. Or, many of the unemployed may be unskilled, while the demand is for skilled workmen; or they may be skilled in one line, while the demand is in another line. Whatever the causes, the "problem of the unemployed" is one of the most serious that the community has to deal with.

Who have been some of the builders of your own community by reason of their business life? Explain.

So far as you have observed, what boys have been most successful after leaving school — those who make it a practice to do all they can for their employers, or those who have tried to do the least possible?

Is it true in your community that the most useful citizens are those who care more about the excellence of their work than about what they receive for it?

Are there many vagrants in your community? Are there laws against vagrancy? If so, what are they?

Are there many men out of work in your city at the present time? If so, are they chiefly skilled or unskilled workmen? What is the difference between a skilled and an unskilled workman?

Is it ever difficult to get farm labor in your locality? If so, how do the farmers explain it? What effect does it have on your city?

Consult your father as to the reasons for unemployment in your city. Compare his explanation with that of fathers of other pupils, and make list of reasons given.

It is of the greatest importance both to the individual and to the community that every citizen (1) should be continuously

employed in a useful occupation, (2) should be free and able to choose the occupation for which he is best fitted, and in which he will be happiest, and (3) should be thoroughly efficient in his work, whatever it is.



THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED

A striker and his family

(1) The community has a right to expect every citizen to be industrious and productive, for only in this way can he be self-sustaining and at the same time contribute his share to the well-being of the community. Doubtless all who read this chapter are desirous of doing useful work. At the same time, it is easy for any of us to fall into the habit of thinking more about what we can *get* than about what we can *give*. There are people who habitually seek to do as little as possible for what they can get, or to get all they can for the least possible service. This ap-

**The right of
the com-
munity to
industry**

plies not only to idlers who live entirely off the community without any service on their part, but also to those who have employment, but who seek to evade, by "time-serving" and otherwise "slacking," the full responsibility of service. We sometimes hear complaint in regard to public officials who draw good salaries without rendering adequate or honest public service in return, and to such we frequently apply the term of "*grafter*." But the principle is exactly the same when any person who has undertaken to do a piece of work fritters away his time or "loafs on the job."

After all, the chief return that we get for our work is not the wages or the profits, important as they are to us, but the satisfaction of doing something that is worth while. If this pleasure is absent from the work we do, no amount of money returns can compensate us for it.

(2) The value of our work to the community and the pleasure that we derive from it both depend to a large extent upon our fitness for it. It is important to choose our work carefully. There are four important considerations in choosing a vocation: (a) its usefulness to the community, (b) one's own fitness for it, (c) one's happiness in it, and (d) whether it offers an adequate living to one's self and dependents. The last of these is, of course, a most important consideration. What a person receives for his work ought to be determined by the first two considerations, *i.e.* the usefulness of the work to the community and one's fitness for it. We have seen that this is not always true. In such cases it often becomes necessary to make a further choice — a choice between working primarily for one's own profit and working primarily for the satisfaction that comes from important service well rendered. It is not always easy to make this choice; but there are many people who have sacrificed large incomes for the sake of doing work that the community needs and for which they consider themselves well fitted.

**Satisfaction
in service**

**Importance
of a right
choice**

Many people seem to have little choice in the matter of vocation. The farmer's boy has to work on the farm whether he wants to or not; and many a man is a farmer apparently for no other reason than that he was raised on the farm and has seen no opportunity to do anything else. Other people seem to be forced into other occupations by circumstances or drift into them by chance. But even in these cases there is something of a choice. The farmer's boy "chooses" to remain on the farm rather than to take the chances involved in running away, or because he would rather be at home than in a strange city. The discontented farmer might have chosen to be a lawyer if he had been willing to make enough sacrifices to get ready for it; and even now he "chooses" to remain on the farm in spite of his dislike for it because to do otherwise would mean sacrifice of some kind or other that he is unwilling to make.

A choice of
vocation is
inevitable

The pleasure and effectiveness of *any* work, however, are increased if its importance to the community or to the world is clearly understood; for *all* productive work is important. There is no more terrible work than that of the soldier in the trenches. No man would voluntarily choose it for his own pleasure. But millions of men have gone into it joyfully because of the results to be attained for their country and the world. Other millions of men and women, and even children, on the farms, in the mines, in the shops, and in the homes, worked and sacrificed during the war with Germany as they had never worked and sacrificed before, produced results such as had never been produced before, and doubtless experienced a satisfaction in their toil that they never experienced before, because each one saw more definitely than before the relation of his work to the great national and world purpose. An understanding of the meaning of our work in its relation to community welfare goes a long way toward "transmuting days of dreary work into happier lives" (see page 9).

The meaning
of our work
to the
community

The opportunity to choose one's calling, to decide what service one will fit himself for, the right of "self-determination" with regard to what one's work shall be — this is what "freedom" means. This is why men are happier when they are free. The "equality" and "justice" that all men want mean *equality of opportunity to choose* that which they like to do, and *an equal chance to make a living*, or to obtain compensation for their labor or enterprise. It is for these things more than for anything else that people have left old-world conditions and come to America. The ability to make a living under conditions of freedom and justice depends in part upon the common wants of the community, and upon the willingness of members of the community to pay for the satisfaction of their wants enough to enable those who perform service for them also to satisfy theirs. But it also depends upon the ability of the individual to make a choice, and upon his willingness to spend years in preparation, if need be, to enable him to offer a service of the kind he likes to render and for which others are glad to pay well.

We are living in a day of specialists. The very nature of our interdependent life makes it necessary for each worker to do one thing and to do it exceedingly well. More-
 over, since the worker must be a specialist, requiring long, special training, it is more difficult than it used to be for him to change from one occupation to another after he has once started. Each person, therefore, owes it both to himself and to the community to choose his vocation carefully, so far as he has opportunity to make a choice. The schools are more and more making it their business to give boys and girls the knowledge and the experience that will enable them to choose wisely their mode of earning a living.

(3) Whether a citizen follows a vocation of his own voluntary choice, or one into which he has fallen by chance or by force of circumstances, he is under obligation to the community as

well as to himself to do his work well. In these days of specialization this inevitably means preparation, training. If the community expects the citizen to perform efficient service, it must afford him a fair opportunity for preparation.

As in the choice of a vocation, so in preparation for it the individual has his share of responsibility. It is always a temptation for young people to get out into the active work of the world at the earliest possible moment. The desire to be independent, to earn one's own living, to "make money," is strong. It leads many boys and girls to leave school even before they have finished their elementary education. In the great majority of cases this results in serious economic loss both to the boy or girl and to the community. The charts on page 296 furnish evidence of this.

We call it patriotism when a man gives all that he has, even his life if necessary, for the good of his country, without stopping to consider whether or not he will receive an equal benefit in return. There is no higher type of patriotism than that which prompts a citizen to perform his best service for the community in his daily calling, not for what he can get for it, but for what he can give. This patriotism is shared by the young citizen who is willing to defer an apparent immediate gain to himself in order to prepare himself thoroughly for more effective service later.

If your father had his life to live over again, would he choose the same vocation that he is now following? Consult him as to his reasons.

Take the list of occupations represented by the parents of the members of your class, or a list of occupations represented by the residents of your block, and study them with respect to the amount of preparation or training needed for each.

Make a study of the extent to which specialization is necessary in the industries of your town.

Does your school offer any vocational training or vocational guidance? Is there a tendency in your school for boys and girls to quit before com-

pleting the course? At what grades do pupils begin to drop out in considerable numbers? Why do they leave? What sort of work do they do when they leave school?

At what age does the law in your state permit boys and girls to go to work? Show how this restriction of freedom now increases freedom later on (see page 297).

"Education tends to make people free." Discuss this proposition in the light of what is said on page 297. Does a high school graduate enjoy a greater degree of freedom than a person who never went to high school?

Discuss the meaning of "freedom," "equality," "justice," as explained on page 297.

Discuss the proposition that "the chief return we get for our work is the satisfaction of doing something worth while."

What does the "right of self-determination" mean in its application (a) to an individual, (b) to a nation?

READINGS

In Lessons in Community and National Life:

Series A: Lesson 3, The coöperation of specialists in modern society.

Lesson 5, The human resources of a community.

Lesson 7, Organization.

Lesson 8, The rise of machine industry.

Lesson 9, Social control.

Lesson 10, Indirect costs.

Lesson 11, Education as encouraged by industry.

Lesson 23, The services of money.

Lesson 28, The worker in our society.

Series B: Lesson 8, Finding a job.

Lesson 11, The work of women.

Lesson 28, Women in industry.

Series C: Lesson 9, Inventions.

Lesson 11, The effects of machinery on rural life.

Lesson 21, Before coins were made.

Lesson 22, The minting of coins.

Lesson 23, Paper money.

Lesson 24, Money in the community and the home.

Lesson 29, Child labor.

Vocational Guidance in Secondary Education. Bulletin, 1918, No. 19, U.S. Bureau of Education.

Business Education in Secondary Education. Bulletin, 1919, No. 55, U.S. Bureau of Education.

Work of School Children in Out-of-school Hours. Bulletin, 1917, No. 20, U.S. Bureau of Education.

In Long's *American Patriotic Prose*:

Frank A. Vanderlip, "Service Leads to Success," pp. 347-348.

Charles M. Schwab, "Opportunity is Plentiful in America," pp. 348-350.

Tufts, *The Real Business of Living*, chaps. viii-x; xv-xxviii.

The following books relating to vocational life are helpful:

Gowin and Wheatley, *Occupations* (Ginn & Co.).

Giles, *Vocational Civics* (Macmillan).

Gulick, *The Efficient Life* (Doubleday, Page & Co.).

Reid and others, *Careers for the Coming Men* (Saalfield Pub. Co., Akron, Ohio).

Marden, *Choosing a Career* (Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis).

Marden, *Talks with Great Workers* (Thos. Y. Crowell).

Bok, *Successward* (Doubleday, Page & Co.).

Williams, *How It Is Made, How It Is Done, How It Works* (Thos. Nelson & Sons).

Fowler, *Starting in Life* (Little, Brown & Co.).

Parsons, *Choosing a Vocation* (Houghton Mifflin & Co.).

Carnegie, *The Empire of Business* (Doubleday, Page & Co.).

CHAPTER XVII

THRIFT

"Thrift is good management of the business of living."

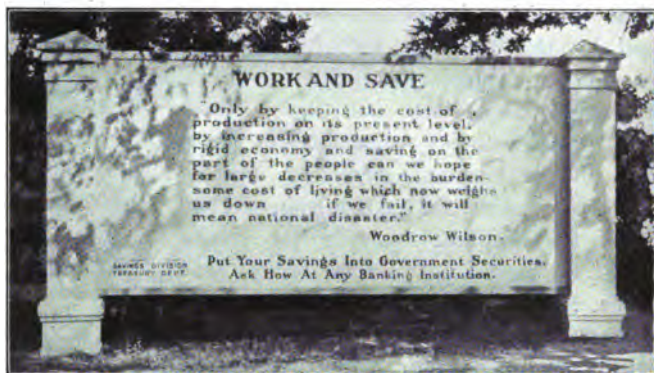
THIS definition is taken from "Ten Lessons in Thrift," issued by the Treasury Department of the United States Government (February, 1919). The United States government sent out these lessons because "America to-day stands in the position in which all her economic problems must be solved through thrift. . . . Unless our people gain a deep, sincere appreciation of the absolute necessity for thrift, we cannot hope to hold the proud position we occupy as the flag bearer of nations. . . ." ¹

The great war taught us some lessons about the importance of thrift to the nation. The enormous expenses of the war were paid and the armies and the civilian populations of the countries at war were fed very largely by the combined small savings of our people. Nearly 20 million people contributed to the fourth liberty loan, by which almost seven billion dollars were raised, an average of about \$350 for each contributor. Almost every one bought war savings stamps, by which about a billion dollars were raised in 1918. Practically all this money came from savings. Enormous sums were also given to the Red Cross and other causes. To do this people saved and sacrificed "until it hurt." The provisioning of our armies and of the needy peoples of Europe was made

¹ S. W. Strauss, President American Society for Thrift, in "The Patriotism of War Savings" (National Education Association pamphlet, *Thrift*, 1918).

possible by the saving, in American homes, of slices of bread, of teaspoonfuls of sugar, of small portions of meat and fats.

Thrift, however, is not merely a war necessity. "The time when thrift shall not be needed — needed as vitally as food
Thrift as itself — will never come. . . . Through thrift
patriotism alone can the rebuilding come — the rebuilding of America — the rebuilding of the world. . . . Thrift is patriotism because it is the elimination of every element that tends to retard. . . ."¹



BILLBOARD AT TRENTON, N.J.

Thrift is necessary both for individual success and for good citizenship. It is only by thrift that the individual may in some measure repay others for the care he himself received during dependent childhood, and provide, during his productive years, for the "rainy day" of sickness and old age. It is by thrift that *capital* is accumulated with which to carry on the world's work (see page 315). The citizen who saves and invests his savings in a home, in business enterprises, in bonds or savings stamps, not only makes his own future secure, but becomes identified with the community and takes a greater interest in it

¹ S. W. Strauss, "The Patriotism of War Savings."

(see pages 113-114). The thrifty citizen inspires the confidence of the community, and acquires an influence in community affairs that the unthrifty citizen does not enjoy. Thrift is often confused with stinginess and selfishness. On the contrary it alone makes generosity and service possible.

"Thrift is the very essence of democracy." For democracy means freedom, equality of opportunity, "self-determination."

No man is a greater slave than one who is bound and driven by financial necessity. By thrift the mind is "unfettered by the petty annoyances that result from improvident ways." Thrift means providing for the future. There is nothing in the world that will so establish one's faith in the future and that will, therefore, give that freedom of spirit upon which democracy depends, as the wise use of to-day and of to-day's resources.

"Every man must practice thrift and every man must have the *chance* of practicing it." It is a *right* as well as a duty. Before the war it was said that four fifths of the wage earners of our country received less than \$750 a year for their labor. Studies in various cities also showed that an average family of five could not maintain health and efficiency on an income of less than from \$750 to \$1,000. Under such circumstances thrift is the strictest necessity, but it is a thrift that means pinching economy and the sacrifice of health and efficiency. It is not the thrift that provides for the future and gives freedom to the individual, the thrift that is "the essence of democracy itself." Every man should have an opportunity to earn a "living wage," which includes an opportunity to provide for the future. Democracy is not complete until that opportunity is afforded.

Thrift, or the good management of the business of living, is shown (1) in earning, (2) in spending, (3) in saving, and (4) in investing.

Thrift the
"essence of
democracy"

Thrift a right
as well as
a duty



**AN UNSIGHTLY VACANT CITY LOT MADE PROFITABLE
AND BEAUTIFUL**

(1) Since the earning of a living was the subject of Chapter XVI, we need not dwell upon it now except to note that a thrifty person is an industrious person — he makes wise **Thrift in** use of his time; and also to note that many of those **earning** who are now in want, or who, in advanced years, are receiving small wages, owe their condition to a failure at some time or other to make use of the opportunity for thrift. Many people do not recognize the opportunity when it is presented, or lack the wisdom or the courage to seize it. Thrift involves *making a choice*, and in many cases a wise choice requires courage as well as wisdom. It is a choice between the satisfaction of present wants and the sacrifice of present enjoyment for the sake of greater satisfaction and service in the future.

When a boy in school has a chance to take a job that will pay him wages, he has to make a choice between it and remaining in school. It may seem to be the thrifty thing to go to work; but real thrift is shown by careful choice of vocation, and by thorough preparation for it, even though it requires sacrifices that seem difficult (see pages 295, 297).

(2) After money has been earned, thrift shows itself first of all in the way the money is spent; and many of us have the spending of the money that some one else has **Thrift in** earned. Every time we spend a nickel or a dollar **spending** we make a choice — we choose to spend or not to spend, how much we shall spend, for what we shall spend.

A lawyer in a small town reports that in one month he made out the necessary papers to enable 75 men to mortgage their homes to buy automobiles.

One reason, perhaps, for extravagance in food and clothing on the part of unintelligent people who find themselves unusually prosperous, is that they see no better way to spend their money. Those who find pleasure in books, in education for their children, in travel, in investing money in productive and serviceable enterprises, and in the higher things of life, have to make



THE WOOLWORTH BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY

The tallest building, and one of the most beautiful, in the United States. It was built by a man whose fortune was made from the profits of "5 and 10 cent stores."

a *choice* in regard to what they shall enjoy, and as a rule prefer to sacrifice the grosser pleasures.

People, and especially young people, need a certain amount of sweets in their diet. But when we know that the candy bill of the people of the United States amounts to **Choosing** \$400,000,000 a year, that this is almost as much **what to spend** as the total amount spent for public education, that it is about double the amount used to keep Belgium supplied with food for a year during the war, or that it will buy 400 million bushels of corn at \$1.00 a bushel, we may well think twice before deciding to spend *much* money for candy.

The few cents' difference in the price of two articles between which we must choose, and the nickels we spend for immediate enjoyment, may seem to amount to very little; but the New York City street railways collected in a year \$95,000,000 in five-cent fares, and the Woolworth Building in New York, one of the largest office buildings in the United States, was built from the profits of "5 and 10 cent stores." One thrift stamp a week amounts in five years to \$65, and 14 cents a day at 4 per cent interest amounts in twenty years to more than \$1500.

In one of the "Ten Lessons in Thrift," the following "tests in buying" are given:

**Tests for
Spending**

Do I need it?

Do I need it now?

Do I need something else more?

Will it pay for itself in the end?

Do I help or injure the community in buying this?

Do you have instruction in your school in home economics that relates to wise spending or buying?

If you do not have such instruction, write to your state agricultural college, or to the States Relations Service, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., for circulars or bulletins relating to thrift in buying food, clothing, etc.

In writing for such material, why is it an example of thrift to ask for *one* copy of each publication for your *class* or for your *school*, rather than to ask for a copy for each pupil?

In what ways is thrift shown by having a class committee write one letter making the request for the class instead of having each member of the class write?

Who in your family makes most of the expenditures for the family living?

For what items in the family living is most of the money spent?

What are some of the things that have to be considered in buying food? clothing? house furnishings? books? amusements?

Make a study at the grocery of the relative prices of articles bought in small and large quantities: for example, laundry soap by the bar, by the quarter's worth, by the box; canned goods by the can, by the dozen, and by the case; flour by the pound, by the 25-pound sack, 50-pound sack, by the barrel; etc.

Make a study of the relative prices of articles in bulk and in package; for example, vinegar by the bottle and by the gallon; bacon in bulk and in jars, etc.

Why may it be economy to buy some food articles in packages rather than in bulk, even at a higher price? Give examples.

Which is likely to be more economical, to buy groceries by telephone or in person? To buy by mail order or at the store in town? Why?

At Christmas time the Park View community center in Washington, D.C., ordered 140 turkeys from a rural neighborhood center in Maryland. The turkeys were brought by the producers to the schoolhouse of the rural neighborhood, taken by a postal service motor-truck to the schoolhouse of the Park View center in Washington, and from there distributed to the 140 families. The city buyers paid an average of 15 cents a pound less than the price prevailing in the Washington markets, and the producers received 6 cents a pound more than the Washington markets were paying.

Why was there a saving to both producer and consumer in the above case? What costs of marketing were cut out or reduced?

What is the "middleman"? Does he perform a real service to the community? Should he be paid for his service? Why? Is it just that the middleman should be "eliminated" by coöperative marketing and buying organizations? Why?

Is there any coöperative buying organization in your community? If so, how has it benefited the community? If not, why? (Consult your parents and others.)

Get publications from your state agricultural college relating to co-operative buying and selling.

Wise expenditures depend not only upon knowledge of prices and qualities, but also upon good management, as in planning

ahead. One plan that has been the means of lifting many individuals and families out of financial difficulties and of enabling them to lay by as savings a portion of their income, **Thrift in** however small the latter may be, is the *budget*, **management** which means the apportionment of expenditures according to a plan laid out in advance. No budget can apply to all families alike, but the following illustrates the principle:

House (rent, taxes, insurance, repairs)	25%
Food (all expenditures for the table, ice, etc.)	30%
Clothing (materials and making, repairing, cleaning, pressing, millinery, shoes)	13%
Housekeeping (labor and materials for laundry, fuel and light, telephone, supplies, and furnishings)	12%
Educational (school and school books, club dues, church and charity contributions, gifts, books, magazines, newspapers, amusements, medical and dental treatment)	6%
Luxuries (all items not necessities and not coming under "educational," such as candies, etc.)	4%
Savings	10%
Total	100%

Before a budget can be planned, and in order to know whether it is being lived up to, it is necessary to keep accounts of receipts and expenditures. With such accounts, it is possible to determine where savings can be made under some heads and where, perhaps, it is necessary or advisable to spend more.

Is a budget used in your home? Find out from your parents their reason for using, or not using it.

Could you use a budget in your own personal affairs?

Find out whether a budget system is used by your local government and your state government in apportioning expenditures.

How may we "budget" our time? Is the time you spend in school "budgeted"? Make a daily time budget for yourself.

When is clothing a necessity and when a luxury? ¹

When is food a necessity and when an amusement?

When is amusement education and when a frivolity?

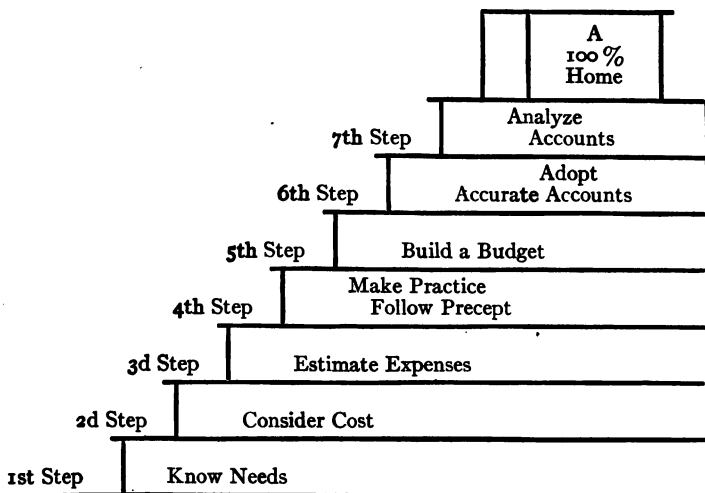
When are club dues education and when amusement?

¹ This and the following topics are adapted from "Ten Lessons in Thrift."

When is vacation health and when amusement?

When is the theater amusement and when indulgence?

When is rent a necessity and when an extravagance?



SEVEN STEPS TOWARD SAVING ¹

(3) The object of thrift in spending is both to get the greatest value for our money now and to insure savings that will provide **Thrift in** for the future. Every budget should make as **saving** definite provision for savings as for rent or clothing. The purpose of a budget and of accounts is to assure a surplus rather than a deficit. Successful men and women make it a practice always to spend less than they earn, no matter how little they earn, and they cannot be sure of this without planning ahead and keeping accounts. Saving in this way is largely a matter of habit; but it is astonishing how many fail to form the habit. Court records show that out of every 100 men who die, 82 leave no income-producing estates, or that about 85 per cent

¹ From "Suggestions for Home Demonstration Agents regarding Methods of Teaching Thrift," States Relations Service Circular, Dec. 27, 1918.

who reach the age of 65 are dependent upon relatives or upon the community. "Out of every 100 widows, only 18 are left in comfortable circumstances, while 47 are obliged to go to work and 35 are left in absolute want."¹

Wise buying means saving money; and so does the wise use of what we buy. It is said that an American ship can be distinguished from the ships of other nations in harbor by the flocks of gulls that hover around to feast on the food thrown overboard. Whether this is true or not, Americans have a reputation for wastefulness. It has been called our chief national sin. It is said that a family in France can live in comfort on what an American family in the same circumstances ordinarily throws away. An average load of garbage in New York City has been shown to contain fifty dollars' worth of good food materials. Investigations by the Food Administration showed that there is enough glycerine in a ton of garbage to make explosives for 14 shells, enough fat and acid to make 75 bars of soap, and enough fertilizer to grow 8 bushels of wheat. It is said that 24 cities wasted enough garbage to make 4 million pounds of nitroglycerine, 40 million cakes of soap, and fertilizer for 3 million bushels of wheat. On the other hand 300 cities produced 52 million pounds of pork by feeding their garbage to hogs.

The Department of Agriculture has shown that the waste of a half-cup of milk daily by each of the 20 million families in the United States would equal in a year the total production of 400 thousand cows; that one ounce of meat or fat saved daily would in a year mean 875 thousand steers, or a million hogs; and that if 81 per cent of the whole wheat were used in bread instead of 75 per cent, the savings in a year would feed 12 million people. During the war our government organized a campaign for the salvage of "junk,"

¹ S. W. Strauss, "The Greater Thrift," National Education Association *Proceedings*, 1916, p. 278.



SALVAGING WASTE PAPER

and the total amount collected had a value of $1\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars. The school children of Des Moines, Iowa, are reported to have gathered and sold two thousand dollars' worth of waste paper in one week, and those of many other communities obtained similar results.

Every successful business man is constantly vigilant to discover and remedy waste in his business — waste of materials, time, and effort. Many of the most valuable **Value of** products in certain industries are “by-products,” **by-products** — that is, products produced as an incident to the main industry and from materials that otherwise would have been wasted. In the manufacture of gas from coal, for example, important by-products are coke, tar, and ammonia. There has been great waste in the lumber industry, but now practically every scrap from the tree may be used. In the Forestry Products Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin, a process has been discovered of producing from 15 to 25 gallons of wood alcohol from a ton of sawdust — and sawdust has many other uses. These are only illustrations. Scientists and inventors, many of them employed by the government, are constantly at work finding uses for waste products.

The following topics from publications of the State Relations Service of the Department of Agriculture are suggestive:

Preventing loss of food in the home:

Suitable food storage places and equipment.

Essentials of a good refrigerator.

The care of winter vegetables and fruit.

The care of perishable vegetables and fruit.

Prevention of spoilage of milk, meat, and fish.

Preservation of eggs.

Care of bread and other baked products.

What should not go into the garbage pail.

Good cooking and attractive serving.

Failure to use perishable food promptly.

Failure to use left-overs completely.

Failure to use all food materials (fats, vegetable-tops, meat and fish bones, etc.).

Leaving small portions of food in mixing and cooking dishes.

Lack of accurate measuring and mixing, so that food is not palatable.

Allowing food to become scorched or otherwise spoiled in preparation.

Providing over-generous portions in serving.

Failure to eat all food served.

Preventing loss of food in the market:

Sanitary display cases for food.

Prevention of "sampling" and handling of food.

Food protection in food carts and delivery wagons.

Proper care of milk.

Proper care of meat and fish.

Prevention of cereal products from deterioration.

Protection of fruits and vegetables.

The care of bread and bakery products.

Careful selection of food.

Following are special points which might be discussed:

The well-planned house.

Saving steps by better arrangement of equipment.

Lessening work by systematizing it.

Menu-planning for lessened work in preparation.

Household lighting.

Labor-saving equipment in the laundry, the kitchen, and the sewing room.

Labor-saving devices for house cleaning.

Leading a simple life.

(4) Thrift involves a wise use of savings. They may be invested in a home, a wise use because of the satisfaction that a home produces. If the home is well located, well built, and well kept up, it will probably also increase in money value. Savings may be invested in machinery for farming, manufacturing, or mining; in a stock of goods to be sold at a profit; in houses or office buildings to be rented to others; or they may be lent to others who pay interest for their use. In all these cases money represents *capital* — capital

being the machinery or tools and other equipment with which wealth is produced.

Capital is brought into existence in only one way — that is, by consuming less than is produced. If one has a dollar one can spend it either for an article of consumption, say confectionery, or for an article of production, say a spade. He who buys a spade becomes a capitalist to the amount of a dollar — that is, he becomes the owner of tools. The process is precisely the same whether the amount in question is a dollar or a million dollars.¹



AT THE BANK

Every business requires capital, some more than others. The necessary capital must either be saved by the **Borrowing** person who wants to use it, or it must be borrowed from others who have saved it.

The advantage of borrowing is that one does not have to wait so long to get possession of the tools and equipment. One can get them at once and make them produce the means of paying for themselves. Without them the farmer's production might be so low as to make it difficult ever

¹ T. N. Carver, "How to Use Farm Credit," *Farmers' Bulletin* 593, U.S. Department of Agriculture, p. 2.

to accumulate enough with which to buy them. With their help he may be able to pay for them — that is, to pay off the debt — in a shorter time than it would take to accumulate the purchase price without them. That is the only advantage of credit in any business, but it is a great advantage to those who know how to use it.¹

Credit is simply a person's ability to borrow and depends upon the confidence that others place in him. This confidence depends on his reputation for honesty and his known ability to repay. A man, as a rule, has to *have* something — land or property of other kind — that he can offer as security before he can borrow much. It is for this reason that thrift is essential to a man's credit — thrift and honesty.

There is no magic about credit. It is a powerful agency for good in the hands of those who know how to use it. So is a buzz saw. They are about equally dangerous in the hands of those who do not understand them. . . . Many a [man] would be better off to-day if he had never had a chance to borrow money at all, or go into debt for the things which he bought. However, there is no reason why those . . . who do know how to use credit should not have it.

Shortsighted people, however, who do not realize how inexorably the time of payment arrives, who do not know how rapidly tools wear out and have to be replaced, or do not keep accounts in order that they may tell exactly where they stand financially, will do well to avoid borrowing. Debts have to be paid with deadly certainty, and they who do not have the wherewithal when the day of reckoning arrives become bankrupt with equal certainty.

On the other hand there is nothing disgraceful in borrowing for productive purposes. The feeling that it is not quite respectable to go into debt has grown out of the old habit of borrowing to pay living expenses. That was regarded, perhaps rightly, as a sign of incompetency. . . . But to borrow for a genuinely productive purpose, for a purpose that will bring you in more than enough to pay off your debt, principle and interest, is a profitable enterprise. It shows business sagacity and courage, and is not a thing to be ashamed of. But it cannot be too much emphasized that the would-be borrower must calculate very carefully and be sure that it is a productive enterprise before he goes into debt.¹

¹ T. N. Carver, "How to Use Farm Credit," p. 2.

Much of the capital used in business is borrowed, and is made up of small savings. The enormous capital of railroads, for example, is derived chiefly from the savings of millions of people, some of whom buy shares of railroad stock directly, but most of whom deposit their savings in banks or other institutions which, in turn, lend it to the railroads or invest it in their stock. The school boy or girl who has a savings account in a bank thus may become a partner in various business enterprises of the country. Their dollars or dimes, added to the dollars and dimes of many other people, are used to buy machinery and tools and materials, and to pay labor. Because of the service performed by their savings they receive interest on their money.

Partnership
in the
nation's
business

The savings bank is always on hand for the use of those who live in cities. Its business is conducted in accordance with state or national laws for the protection of the depositor against loss of his money. *School savings banks* have been organized in many schools, the pupils depositing small amounts regularly with their teacher, or with one of their own number who acts as "bank teller." The total amount so deposited is then taken to a bank in the community, thus bringing into use in the world's work many small sums of money that would otherwise be lying idle or spent unwisely. The school bank not only promotes habits of thrift, but may also afford excellent training in business methods of accounting.

In 1910 Congress established the Postal Savings System under which any post office may act as a savings bank. Any person over ten years of age may deposit money at the postal savings bank in amounts of from \$1.00 to \$25.00, receiving from the postmaster *postal savings certificates* as evidence of the deposit. Provision is made for savings accounts of less than a dollar by selling *postal savings stamps* at ten cents each, ten of which may be deposited in exchange for a dollar certificate. Two per cent

Postal
Savings
System

interest is paid on postal savings, but savings certificates may be exchanged for *postal savings bonds*, bearing interest at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The rate of interest paid by a postal savings bank is lower than that paid by an ordinary savings bank, but many people prefer to accept the smaller rate of interest because of their greater *confidence* in the government; that is, the *credit*



A SCHOOL BANK IN OPERATION

of the government is better than that of private individuals or agencies. The foreign-born population of the United States makes wide use of the postal savings banks, not only because of their convenience, but also because of faith in the government which operates the post offices.

The purchase of Liberty Bonds or Savings Stamps and Thrift Stamps is a good investment and a patriotic act. The money raised in this way is used for the national defense and for reconstruction after the war. The Savings Division of the United States Treasury Department carries on a campaign of thrift education. Among other

Lending
to the
government

things, it promotes the organization of savings societies and thrift clubs, because thrift is a habit which is encouraged by the example and coöperation of others. In Randolph County, Indiana, for example, each consolidated school has its thrift club, and over 75 per cent of the pupils are members. One of



STATE THRIFT CONGRESS OF OHIO SCHOOL PUPILS

Held in the Chamber of the House of Representatives, State House, Columbus, O. Each county in the state sent a representative to this Congress from the school making the best thrift record. Each representative sat in the seat usually occupied by his county's representative in the legislature. Thrift subjects were discussed and appropriate resolutions passed. The lieutenant-governor of the state is presiding at this session.

these schools sold over \$11,000 worth of thrift stamps, and others sold from \$1,500 to \$3,500 worth. Savings societies exist among the workmen of many industries, and employers report that these have increased the purchase of homes, and have resulted in a saving of materials and tools because of the habits of thrift established.

Among many other agencies that promote thrift we shall only mention *building and loan associations* and *insurance*.

A person of small means may buy shares of stock in a building and loan association, paying for them in small monthly payments. The association pays interest on the money so deposited. When the shareholder has a sufficient amount to his credit, he may borrow from the association for purposes of home-building. Such associations have therefore not only promoted thrift, but have also encouraged the building of homes by people of small means. Insurance affords a particularly good illustration of organized coöperation. The *premiums* paid by thousands of policy holders produce a large sum of money, part of which goes to pay the expenses of the insurance company, but most of which is invested in enterprises that cause the amount rapidly to increase. Out of this fund the occasional losses of individuals are paid. Life insurance is a good form of investment. It provides for the future of the family of the insured in case of his death. By the *endowment* plan the insured may himself receive, at the end of a specified number of years, all that he has paid in premiums together with interest.

Young people may frequently find opportunity to invest savings directly in productive business enterprises of their own. It may be that such opportunities are less abundant in large cities than in smaller places. In rural communities boys' and girls' clubs have become quite common — such as pig clubs, poultry clubs, corn clubs, canning clubs, and the like. Such clubs are promoted by the United States Department of Agriculture and by state agricultural colleges. When a boy (or a girl) invests a little money in a pig, or a calf, or garden tools, he becomes a capitalist to that extent. Many city boys and girls have cultivated gardens in back yards or on vacant lots that have yielded a good profit on the investment in seeds, tools, etc. Many a successful business man has laid the foundation of his business success while still a boy, first by saving, and then by investing his savings in some small business, such as, for example, the purchase of a newspaper route.

As we proceed with our study we shall encounter other aspects of thrift in various chapters. As a nation we may be thrifty or unthrifty in the use of our resources (see Chapter XX). Thrift is as essential in our "community housekeeping," which is carried on by government, as in our homes and business. But we can hardly expect thrift to become a national characteristic unless it first becomes a personal habit.



GOOD RETURNS ON THE INVESTMENT

Boys' Club and leader examining a good litter of pigs

Are you a capitalist? If so, explain in what way.

What business enterprises do you know of that are engaged in by boys and girls, and that require the use of capital?

What forms does the capital take with which your father does business?

What capital does an Eskimo have? the American Indians when the country was first settled?

Do you belong to a thrift club? Would it be desirable to organize one in your school? Confer with your teacher and principal about it. Write to the Savings Division, U.S. Treasury Department, Washington, D.C., for literature regarding organization.

Is there a credit union, or a savings association, or other organization to promote thrift in your community? If so, find out how it operates.

Write a story on the subject, "What my five dollars may accomplish after I put it in the savings bank, before it comes back to me with interest."

If there is a building and loan association in your community, investigate its methods of doing business. Consult your parents.

READINGS

In *Lessons in Community and National Life*:

Series A: Lesson 6, Capital.

Lesson 13, United States Food Administration.

Lesson 14, Substitute foods.

Lesson 15, Woman as the family purchaser.

Lesson 21, Borrowing capital for modern business.

Lesson 22, The commercial bank and modern business.

Series B: Lesson 7, An intelligently selected diet.

Lesson 22, Financing the war.

Lesson 23, Thrift and war savings.

Series C: Lesson 7, Preserving foods.

Lesson 8, Preventing waste of human beings.

Lesson 14, The United States Fuel Administration.

Lesson 16, The Commercial Economy Board of the Council of National Defense.

Write Savings Division, U.S. Treasury Department, for materials; especially "Ten Lessons in Thrift," and "Teaching Thrift in Elementary Schools." Both of these contain lists of readings.

The Post Office Department has publications descriptive of the postal savings service.

School Savings Banks. Bulletin, 1914, No. 46, U.S. Bureau of Education.

Farmers' Bulletins, U.S. Department of Agriculture, relating to thrift.

See references in footnotes in this chapter.

Dunn, *The Community and the Citizen*, chap. xiv, "Waste and Saving."

The local public library, the State Library, and the State Agricultural College will doubtless furnish lists of references and perhaps provide materials.

The United States Bureau of Education will send list of references.

CHAPTER XVIII

TEAM WORK IN INDUSTRY

It was suggested on page 75 that conflict is often more apparent than team work in community life. There is no denying the fact that economic or business success involves a struggle, and that earning a living is often little other than a "struggle for existence." We read on page 303 that four fifths of the wage earners in the United States received, before the recent war, less than \$750 a year for their labor, an amount that represents a hard struggle for existence, especially for those who have families to support. "In a single year, in this civilized country of ours, five times as many people were killed in industry as fell on both sides at the great three days' battle of Gettysburg. . . . The injured victims of our industrial system number considerably more than a million every year."¹ Poverty, disease, crime, and vice are among the products or by-products of the conflict. It has broken up families (see page 128), and forced women and children into it for the support of their families, even as they entered the trenches in Russia in the dark days of the war.

It is true that those who suffer from the conflict are often the victims of their own incompetence (see page 305). The casualties from industrial accidents are often due to sheer ignorance or carelessness. Poverty may result from a lack of thrift, or from an unwise choice of vocation or lack of training for it. But the responsibility for these things goes back largely to the fact that there

**The struggle
for a living**

**Conflict due
to lack of
vision**

¹ Ashley, *The New Civics*, p. 379.

is strife where there ought to be team work, or that team work is very imperfectly developed. Sometimes selfishness, greed, or the love of power leads individuals to prey upon others very much as the highwayman would do. But as a rule, the conflict is due to a lack of vision on the part of the contending groups that would enable them to see their great common interests above their narrower group interests.



A GROUP OF FRIENDLY COMPETITORS

We give the name *competition* to one form of this conflict. Every boy or girl who goes out into the world to earn a living has to compete with others for positions, just as in school they may compete for places on athletic teams. Workmen in the same trade compete for the jobs that the community has to offer, grocers for the trade of the community, railroads for traffic between the same two points. This competition may become intense, at times, as when there are more grocers than the community needs to supply it with food, or more workmen than there are jobs. If there are more

jobs than there are workmen, then employers compete for the workmen who are available.

The competition of two grocers for neighborhood trade may take a form that is injurious to the community, and that may ultimately destroy one or both of themselves. If one of them, intent on driving out his rival, begins to cut prices, and the other retaliates, the community may at first gain some benefit from the competition. But if, in order to keep alive, one or both of them should begin to sell inferior goods, or to give short measure, or to render poor service in other ways, not only will the community suffer, but one or both of the grocers will probably be ruined in the long run. The competition may, however, take another, more far-sighted form. Each may set out to make his service to the community better than that of the other, offering the best goods at fair prices, delivering promptly, keeping the store clean and attractive, accommodating customers in every reasonable way. In this case the community is benefited, and the chances are that the business of each will prosper; or, if one is left behind in the race, it is for the just reason that he is the poorer servant of the community.

Is competition in school for athletic positions, or for scholarship rank, a good thing? Why?

Give examples of what you would consider sportsmanlike and unsportsmanlike competition in school affairs.

Sometimes a person holding a position, like that of a foreman, may refuse to help those working with him or under him for fear that one of them may "get his job." Is this sportsmanlike or fair? Why? What does it show with respect to the competence of the person? Is a really competent person afraid of fair competition?

Do boys and girls who seek jobs after leaving school meet with much competition in your community? For whom do the business men of the community compete most keenly, those who have finished their education, or those who have left school before completing the course?

Is there keen competition among workmen for jobs, or among employers for workmen, in your community at the present time? How does this competition show itself? Is the competition greater for skilled or unskilled workmen in your community? Bring in facts to prove your answer.

In what industries in your community is there the keenest competition for workmen, or for jobs?

Is there keen competition among merchants of your community? Among what kinds of merchants is it keenest? How does it show itself?

What can you say about competition in the professions in your city?

Which tends to secure the better service to the community—competition among many persons for a few positions, or competition among employers for a few people to fill their positions? Why?

Is it desirable to have competing telephone systems in one city? Competing street railway lines? Competing steam railroads connecting your city with other cities? Why, in each case?



A PROTEST AGAINST HIGH PRICES

Competition among workmen for jobs tends to bring wages down, to the direct disadvantage of the workmen. But as the **Income and cost of living** reduction in wages lessens the employers' cost of producing goods, it tends to reduce the prices of the goods, which is an advantage to the community, including the workmen themselves, who are *consumers* of goods as well as producers. Thus a reduction in money wages is not necessarily a disadvantage to the workmen, provided the *cost of living* is also reduced. On the other hand, competition among employers for workmen tends to raise the wages, to the direct

advantage of the workmen. But since this increase in wages also increases the cost of producing the goods, it is a disadvantage to the employer, unless he increases the price of the goods, thus increasing the cost of living. Thus there tends to be a balancing of wages or other income with the cost of living.

It may be, however, that when wages go down the employers may keep prices up to where they were before, thus securing a larger profit, while consumers bear the loss. **Domination of self-interest** Or when wages go up because of a scarcity of labor, employers may take advantage of it to raise prices *more* than enough to cover the increased cost of production, again to the disadvantage of the consumer. This is a form of *profiteering*. On the other hand, workmen may take advantage of the fact that they are in great demand, and not only secure higher wages, and perhaps shorter hours of work, but also do less work, or poorer work, during the hours when they are employed, to the disadvantage of their employers and of the consumers of the goods produced. In either case, the employer or the workman is dominated by self-interest rather than by mutual interest or the common interest of the community.

The most serious conflict in community life to-day is that between the employer and the wage earner, — those who furnish the labor and those who furnish the capital **Conflict between wage earner and employer** for the production of the wealth that satisfies our wants. A study made before the war showed that approximately three fifths of all the property in the United States was owned by two per cent of the population, while sixty-five per cent of the population had no property whatever. Such inequality in the distribution of wealth has nourished a sense of injustice among those who furnish the labor. Moreover, they lay the responsibility for low wages, long hours of work, the employment of women and children in industry, frequent periods of unemployment, ill health and injury resulting from unsafe conditions of work, poverty, wretched home

conditions, at the door of an industrial system which seems to them to have been built up primarily to safeguard the profits of the comparatively few who furnish the capital. The result has been a long and bitter struggle for the allotment of a larger share of the proceeds of industry to those who furnish the labor.



A HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY IN THE MOUNTAINS OF THE SOUTH

The problems involved in this conflict between the employing and wage-earning groups are among the most difficult to understand and to deal with that the civilized nations have to face; altogether too difficult to be fully explained in this place. But our study up to this time should enable us to appreciate the broad underlying cause of the difficulty, and should put us in a proper frame of mind to consider the facts involved in the problem as they come to our notice. There is need for this, because this great economic struggle is so intense that prejudice and anger and suffering and fear often interfere with straight thinking and calm judgment on the part of those concerned in it (see page 22).

The conflict between capital and labor need never have occurred if both parties to it had always been wise enough to see that they are in reality partners in an enterprise for the com-

mon good, and to have acted in accordance with this fact. Each has something to contribute to the enterprise that the other does not have and cannot get along without. **The capitalistic system** Capital, as we have seen (page 315), consists of the tools and equipment which labor uses. It is acquired by saving (page 314). Many people earn their living by occupations that require so little capital that they can furnish it themselves from their own savings, as in the case of the newsboy, the fruit peddler, the small merchant, the cobbler, the dress-maker, and the like. In the days when weaving, shoemaking, cabinetmaking, and many other industries were carried on in the home or in small shops by hand processes, it was quite the usual thing for the workman to furnish his own capital. When the invention of machinery and the steam engine resulted in the factory system of industry, a new situation was created. The establishment and operation of large industrial plants and business enterprises required more capital than the workman could furnish. It had to be drawn from those members of the community who had accumulated large savings, and who therefore came to be known as *capitalists*. The system of industrial organization which resulted is known as the *capitalistic system*, or *capitalism*.

Those who put their money into a factory or business not unnaturally considered that they *owned* it, and that, therefore, they had a right to control it. They not only bought the land, buildings, machinery, and materials, but also the labor required, paying for it in wages. **How capitalists gained control** Another reason why the control of industry passed into the hands of capitalists was because the management of a great industry or business requires a high degree of intelligence, and education in those days was limited to the well-to-do. In fact, the intelligence and skill necessary for the management of a great industry are so great that specially trained managers had to be sought; but these also were employed by the capitalists, or "owners."

The trouble began when the capitalists assumed that because they "owned" the business, through having put their money into it, the business existed solely for their own profit, overlooking the interest of their partners who furnish the labor, and even that of the community as a whole, which has a decided interest in the business (see page 286). The capitalist is, of course, entitled to a profit as a recompense for the use of his capital. If there were no expectation of financial reward, one of the strongest inducements for the investment of capital in business would be removed. But profit gained at the sacrifice of others' interests is not just. It is not meant, of course, to suggest that employers of labor are always unmindful of its interests or those of the community; but it has been true to an extent sufficient to arouse bitter hostility to the capitalistic system. On the other hand, in defending and promoting their own interests, those who furnish the labor have not always been mindful of the interests of those who furnish the capital, nor of the interests of the community which both serve.

Capitalists have an advantage in conflict with labor for various reasons. It requires capital, or savings, to carry on the struggle. This is shown especially at times when open conflict occurs, as in a strike, for those who have the most savings can endure longest the cessation of industry. They are better able, also, at all times, to carry on *propaganda* (see page 248) to win public support. The capitalist group has also had, as a rule, the best leadership, for the ablest men tend to rise out of the ranks of labor into those of capital. Moreover, capital has long been thoroughly organized for effective coöperation, while labor has only recently effected such organization.

Nearly all big business is carried on by *corporations*. A corporation is a group of people associated together by a legal procedure to carry on a business or other enterprise. A number

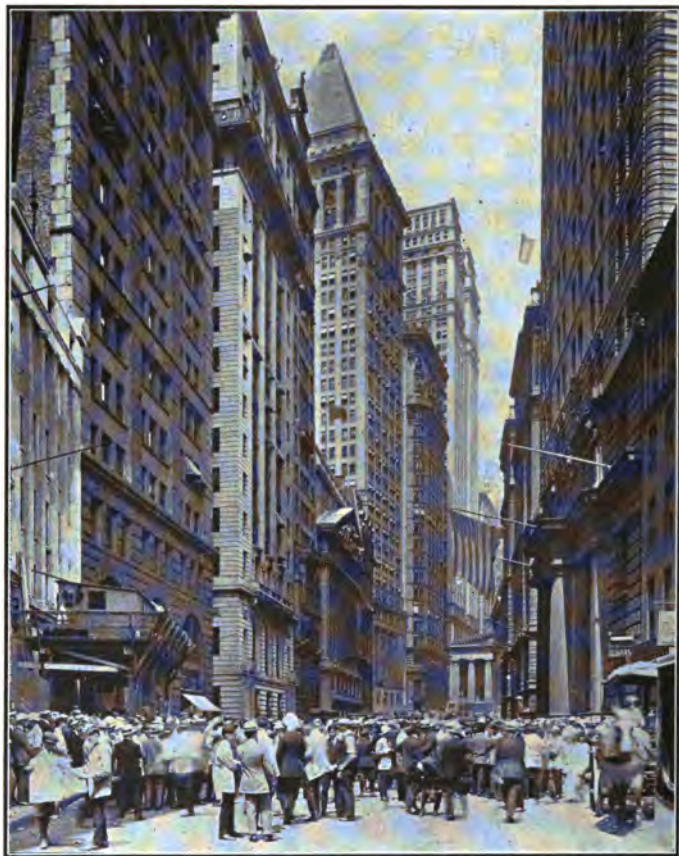
of people may be "incorporated" as a social club, as a philanthropic association, or as a college. A business corporation is an association of capitalists to conduct business for profit. It may consist of only a few members, or of many thousands, each of whom owns one or more shares of the capital stock. These members may be scattered widely over the entire country. The corporation may represent a few thousand dollars of capital, or it may represent millions. One corporation in the steel industry is said to have a capital of a billion dollars. There has been a constant tendency toward larger and larger combinations of capital for the control of the world's business. It has not been uncommon for a great corporation to control not only one great business, such as a railroad, but also, directly or indirectly, other related businesses, such as coal mines and banking institutions.

The corporation

This combination of capital has very decided advantages. Without attempting to analyze them in detail, we may say that they include economy and efficiency of operation, which mean, or should mean, lower prices and a better product or service for the consumer. On the other hand, such combinations of capital carry with them a dangerous power, if they are improperly used. For example, they may stifle wholesome competition (see page 324) by absorbing or driving out of business smaller competitors, thus gaining a *monopoly* in a given industry or service. Relieved of competition, the big corporation has the power, if it cares to use it, of giving poor service, or of exercising improper control over prices and wages. Organized capital has also not infrequently exercised undue influence over government.

Power of organized capital

As this chapter is being written, the newspapers report that in a certain city a coal dealer has brought charges against a coal dealers' association of having driven him out of business. According to the charges, the association of coal dealers had agreed to maintain prices to consumers of coal at



THE CURB MARKET IN BROAD STREET, NEW YORK CITY

In the heart of the financial center of New York and of the nation.

a certain point. The offending dealer found that he could sell coal at a considerably lower price, and did so. The association then brought its power to bear to prevent the offending dealer from buying coal, and thus drove him out of business. Whether or not the charges were true in this particular case, it illustrates the point made in the preceding paragraph.

We sometimes hear people speak of "soulless corporations." A corporation may easily get a reputation of being "soulless," not because the individual stockholders are necessarily soulless, or heartless, but because of the **"Soulless" corporations** extremely complex organization which keeps the worker remote from his real employer, and therefore out of his mind. The great majority of persons who invest their savings in shares of stock in a business, or put their money in the bank, whence it goes out into industry as capital, as a rule think only of the "profitableness" of their investment, and are utterly ignorant or unconscious of the men who labor to make their investment profitable, and of the conditions under which these men work. They are also, as a rule, ignorant of the wages paid, of the factors that enter into the making of prices on their product, and of whether the business is giving effective service to the community. Even the members of a board of directors of a great corporation may be as ignorant or as thoughtless of these facts as the small investor; they *should* know more about them, but their lack of knowledge is not as a rule due to any *desire* to be unjust either to the workman or to the public.

The actual operation of a large corporation is placed in the hands of managers, superintendents, and foremen, who are responsible for employing and discharging men, **Management of corporations** fixing wages, supervising conditions of work, and keeping the product up to standard in quantity and quality. They constitute a barrier between the workmen and the real employer, the capitalist group. They are employed to see that the business is *profitable*, and profit to the owners has too often been secured by driving the workmen, by long hours of work, by low wages, by false economy in failing to provide safety devices and sanitary conditions of work, by "laying off" men when business is dull, and by other methods that work hardship to those who furnish the labor. Of these things the large or small investor too seldom thinks.

What businesses and trades in your community are carried on with so little capital that the worker furnishes his own capital? What trades are still carried on by hand processes (without machinery)?

Report on the Industrial Revolution and its effects (see Readings below).

Discuss the proposition that "profit gained at the sacrifice of others' interests is not just."

How does a group of people "incorporate" for business or other purposes? (Consult at home, or with business acquaintances, preferably a lawyer friend.)

What is the difference between a business "partnership" and a business "corporation"? (Again consult at home or with friends.) What advantages does the latter have over the former?

Make a list of a variety of corporations in your city. Find out how some of them are organized. Also, the capital stock, and whether it is owned by a few individuals or by a large number of investors.

In what ways do large combinations of capital secure economy and efficiency in operating a business?

What is a "monopoly"? What monopolies exist in your city? Are these considered an advantage or a disadvantage to the city? Why?

The lot of the wage earner, however, has steadily improved as the years have passed. Wages, especially those of skilled workmen, have increased — not only the *money wages* received, but also the *actual wages* as measured by the *living* that the money wages will buy. The working day has been shortened in most industries. Laws have been passed to regulate the work of women and children. Safety devices have been widely adopted. Sanitary conditions of working places have been improved. Many employers spend large sums of money for the health, safety, comfort, education, recreation, housing, of their employees and their families.

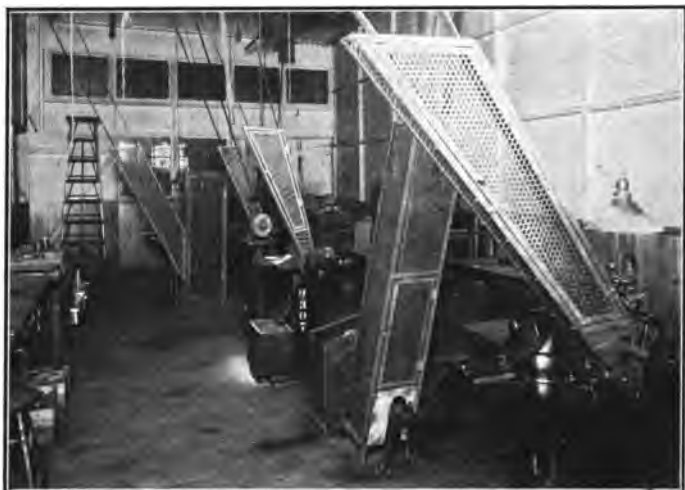
This improved position of wage earners is largely the result of organized coöperation on their part. The worker is at a great disadvantage when he has to bargain as an individual with such an organization of capital as that described above. The organization of labor, as we know it to-day, had its beginnings about a hundred years ago, when

men in the same trade, or in related trades, began to form *unions*, usually local in character. Effective organization has been slow of development, partly because of the lack of good leadership and experience, partly because of vigorous opposition on the part of capital. Frequently, in the early days, organization went on in secret. While there is still more or less opposition, it is now quite generally conceded that labor has as much right to organize in its own interests as has capital. The most extensive and powerful labor organization in the United States at the present time is the American Federation of Labor, which is a federation of several hundred local, state, national, and international labor organizations, and represents a membership of more than two million workers.

Organization has brought improvement to the wage earner by several methods. First, most labor organizations have a system of benefits for their own members, such as insurance against death, sickness, or accident, pensions for those who have grown old in service, loans to members out of employment. In the second place, labor organization has had great educational value. It has not only stimulated its own membership to self-education, but it has done much to educate the public mind and to create a public opinion sympathetic with the reasonable demands of labor for better conditions. Very many of the improvements introduced by corporations for the benefit of their employees have resulted from the pressure of public opinion, which labor organizations have helped to create.

In the third place, labor has made gains by means of direct dealings with the employer. One of the principal things for which labor has fought is the right of *collective bargaining*. Without this right, each workman has to make his own bargain with the employer as to wages, hours of work, and other matters. With it, the labor organization, through its representatives, bargains as a body with the employer in arriv-

ing at a *scale of wages* for all workmen of a given class, a *minimum wage* below which the employer may not go, and so on. The controversy is especially bitter over the "closed shop" and "open shop" question. A "closed shop" is one in which no workman is employed who is not a member of a union; it



SAFETY DEVICES IN A MACHINE SHOP

is "closed" to non-union men. It is therefore a recognition of the principle of collective bargaining. An "open shop" is "open" to union and non-union men alike, the men being employed as individuals. It is therefore considered by organized labor to be a denial of the right of collective bargaining. The wage earners claim that the right of collective bargaining is one that the employers themselves exercise when the directors or officers of a corporation represent thousands of stockholders in dealing with the workmen, and that it is no more than just that the wage earners should enjoy it also. The right has now been quite widely conceded, though many employers still deny it.

Differences between organized labor and organized capital are sometimes settled by conferences between representatives of the two groups. At other times *arbitration* is resorted to, when differences are settled by a board or commission consisting of a person selected by the wage earners (but not from among themselves), another selected by the employers, and a third by these two. A third method of attempting to settle disputes is by the *strike*, on the part of the wage earners, or by the *lockout*, on the part of the employers. In the strike the workmen stop work in a body; in a lockout the employers close their doors to the wage earners. Unfortunately the strike and the lockout are sometimes accompanied by violence, often resulting in the destruction of property or even loss of life.

Methods of
settling
differences

Another weapon sometimes used by organized labor is the *boycott*, which means concerted refusal to use the product of the offending employer, or to have other dealings with him, and an effort to persuade the public to refrain from such dealings. It is common, for example, during a waiters' strike, to see "pickets" stationed in front of restaurants importuning passers-by not to patronize the latter. A corresponding weapon used by employers is the "blacklist," an attempt to prevent other employers from employing objectionable workmen. The use of the "union label" on manufactured articles is designed to persuade the public to buy such articles in preference to articles not bearing it.

The "boy-
cott" and the
"blacklist"

What is the difference between "money wages" and "real wages"? How may the former be raised or lowered without affecting the latter?

Make a list of labor organizations represented in your city.

Make a study of the benefits of membership in such organizations.

Make a report on the "welfare work" of some large industry or department store in your city.

Why have employers objected to collective bargaining on the part of wage earners?

Which of the three methods of settling labor disputes mentioned in the paragraphs above do you think is best? Why? Can you give examples of the use of one or more of them in your community?

Watch the newspapers for accounts of strikes, and note the causes. Also watch for labor difficulties that are settled by conference or arbitration.

In spite of the material gains that the labor group has made, the conflict between it and the capitalist group still continues, and has, in fact, reached a particularly critical stage. The cost of living has advanced along with wages, and often more rapidly. With the progress of civilization the wants of men increase, and the wage earners are no exception to this rule. Habits of thrift have not always kept pace with increasing income, so that workers frequently find themselves no better off in this world's goods than when wages were lower. The great mass of unskilled workmen has not shared proportionately with the skilled workmen the benefit of higher wages, and the unskilled are usually the least educated, the least organized, and often the most turbulent. Moreover, there has been a growing belief among those who furnish the labor that the product of that labor by right *belongs* at least as much to them as to those who furnish the capital, and that they should have at least some voice in the management of industry. On the other hand, organized capital is inclined to make a desperate stand against what it considers aggression on the part of labor, and in defense of its traditional property rights.

Thus each of the two groups engaged jointly in the production of wealth is perfecting its organization for team work in safeguarding its interests against the other. As for team work *between* the two groups in their common task, it can hardly be said to exist. It is true that each does of necessity depend upon the other and coöperate with it up to a certain point. But the relations between them are very much like those between two nations that find it

necessary and desirable to trade with each other, but each of which is suspicious of the other and constantly watching for a favorable opportunity to attack the other for some new advantage over it.

What is to be the outcome? No one knows as yet. There are divergent views as to the way out. First, of course, are those, naturally within the capitalist group, who **Business a** think that everything depends upon maintaining **public trust** the established system of capitalist control. But there are few who fail to see that adjustments of some kind must take place, and in fact are taking place. At the other extreme are those who believe that the capitalist should be completely dethroned, and that labor should assume the control and reap the reward that has heretofore gone to the capitalist. This group believes that labor "owns" industry, just as capital has believed that industry belongs to *it*. This group is doubtless small in the United States. To it the real bolsheviks of Russia belong. There has been a growing sympathy for labor in its struggle for a better living and for a just share of the wealth which it helps to produce; but that sympathy will be lost if labor makes the same error that capital made in seeking to appropriate industry and its proceeds for its own uses. Business must be considered in larger measure as a *public trust* placed in the hands of those who furnish capital and labor to be administered for the public good, and for the administration of which both labor and capital shall receive a just share of the proceeds as compensation for their service.

A third answer to the question is given by the *socialists*. These are divided among themselves on many points, but their main underlying doctrine is that capital, as well as the land and its resources, belongs of right to *all* the people, and that it should be managed for the production of wealth by the people's government. Socialism has gained many followers in some nations of the world, but it is by no means a popular solution of the

labor situation in the United States, although it has numerous advocates.

Most people in the United States believe that business and industry may still be carried on best by private enterprise, provided a way can be found to secure real team **Profit sharing** work among the different groups engaged in it. How this can be accomplished is still a problem. Some have urged that its accomplishment depends upon permitting those who furnish the labor to share in the profits of business, not merely in higher wages, but as stockholders. By virtue of the labor they put into the business, the wage earner is conceived of as part owner with the capitalist, sharing in the prosperity of the business; or, by investing his larger savings in the business, he may in fact *become* to that extent a capitalist, sharing in the capitalist's profits. There are numerous instances of business conducted on some such profit-sharing basis.

Others go farther than this, and maintain that real coöperation between labor and capital can be effected only when labor is **Industrial democracy** permitted to share, not only in the ownership and profits, but also in the *management* of business and industry. This is what is meant by *industrial democracy*. Proposals of this sort have met with vigorous opposition by many in the capitalist group, partly because of a suspicion that they are attempts to gain control of industry for labor, and partly because of a feeling that the labor group is not yet capable of exercising responsibility of management. Friends of the proposal reply that the thing most lacking on the part of labor at present is a sense of responsibility for the success of business enterprises, and that they can acquire it only by being *made* responsible; and also that the increased interest in the business on the part of labor would redound to the profit of both capitalist and community. Here and there employers in the United States are experimenting with such coöperative management of their business.

"Before the war this new method was practically unknown either in America or elsewhere . . . but to-day there are several hundred industries — or if individual plants are counted, many thousands — varying all the way from huge steel plants like the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the Midvale Steel Company, to little factories of a few hundred hands, where the new plan is being practically tried out."



GIVING FIRST AID IN AN INDUSTRIAL PLANT

As a single example: The Dutchess Bleachery of Wappinger Falls, N.Y., is managed by a "board of management" consisting of three members representing the employer's side and three members representing the wage earners. A seventh member may be elected by the other six to act as an arbitrator in case of a deadlock, and his vote would be final. After all expenses of the mill are paid, including six per cent interest on the capital, the remaining profits are divided equally between the stockholders and the workers. At the first division of profits, the wage earners received dividends amounting to four per cent of their wages. In case hard times strike the mill, and there should be a loss instead of a profit, interest on capital will still be paid, and also half wages to the workmen, out of a fund that is being laid aside for such purpose out of profits.

"These new responsibilities, coupled with the new opportunities for a real share in any increased effort, has awakened a wholly new spirit in the mill. There is a reason now for 'getting busy,' for pushing up production. . . . For more production, more efficient work, means more profits . . . and half of all profits go to them" (the workmen).¹



A THREATENED STRIKE IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY

The present warfare among those engaged in the production of the nation's wealth places an insuperable obstacle in the way of achieving our national purposes, as stated in the preamble to the Constitution, — "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty." There are those who hold our government more or less responsible for the perpetuation of the struggle. In following chapters we shall inquire into some of the ways in which government actually enters into the matter. But whatever our government is or does, it can never completely fulfill its

Industrial warfare an obstacle to achievement of national purpose

¹ Ray Stannard Baker, *The New Industrial Unrest*, pp. 149-165.

proper purposes as long as the people are arrayed against one another in hostile camps. We are in sore need of leadership that will bring both sides in the conflict to see that, not by victory of one over the other, but by team work in a common enterprise, will the real interests of either be served.

Show how the conflict described in this chapter negatives each of the purposes stated in the preamble to the Constitution.

What evidence can you bring in from the newspapers or other sources that the strife between labor and capital has reached a critical stage?

Report on the development of coöperation among farmers for the promotion of their interests. (See Readings below.)

What evidence can you find to show that the coöperation of the farmers indicates opposition to and by other interests? (For example, when farmers agree to withhold their wheat, or their cotton, from market until higher prices prevail.)

What is meant by saying that business is a "public trust"?

What arguments can you find for and against socialism?

What is the distinction between socialism, anarchism, and bolshevism?

Is government management of the post office socialistic? government ownership of railroads? city ownership of waterworks and street railways?

Are there any profit-sharing business enterprises in your city? If so, report on the operation of one of them.

If you know of any "coöperative store" in your community, report on its operation.

If a wage earner shares in the increased prosperity of an industry through profit sharing, should he also share in its losses?

Report on instances of coöperative management of an industry by capital and labor, in your own community or elsewhere.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life:

Series A: Lesson 3, The coöperation of specialists in modern society.

Lesson 6, Capital.

Lesson 7, Organization.

Lesson 8, The rise of machine industry.

Lesson 11, Education as encouraged by industry.

Lesson 20, Private control of industry.

Lesson 25, The integration of the greatest manufacturing concern in the United States.

Lesson 28, The worker in our society.

Series B: Lesson 3, A cotton factory and the worker.

Lesson 11, The work of women.

Lesson 12, Impersonality of modern life.

Lesson 25, Concentration of production in the meat-packing industry.

Lesson 26, Concentration in the marketing of citrus fruit.

Lesson 28, Women in industry.

Lesson 29, Labor organizations.

Lesson 31, Employment management.

Series C: Lesson 8, Preventing waste of human beings.

Dunn, Arthur W., *Community Civics and Rural Life*, chap. iii (for coöperative enterprise among farmers).

Publications of the Department of Agriculture referred to in Readings, chap. iii, p. 39 (for coöperation in agriculture).

Tufts, *The Real Business of Living*, chaps. viii, ix, xv-xxviii (Holt).

Burch and Patterson, *American Social Problems*, chaps. xiii-xv (Macmillan).

Towne, *Social Problems*, chaps. iv-viii (Macmillan).

Carlton, *The History and Problems of Organized Labor* (Heath).

Baker, Ray Stannard, *The New Industrial Unrest* (Doubleday, Page & Co.).

CHAPTER XIX

HOW GOVERNMENT SERVES OUR ECONOMIC INTERESTS

"AMERICAN experience indicates that what men do for themselves, on their own initiative, is better done than what paternalistic government attempts to do for them."¹

Americans have always disliked *paternalism* in government — which means an attempt on the part of the government to control the personal affairs of the people as a father (Latin, *pater*) controls the affairs of a small child. Our government not paternalistic
Democracy is founded on faith in the ability of the people to manage their own affairs with due regard for the equal rights of other people. We look upon our government chiefly as an instrument to insure equal opportunity to all to act on their own initiative and to manage their own affairs; or, to use the terms we have used before, as an instrument, not so much to do things for us, as to secure team work in doing things for ourselves. As our community life has become more complex, we have come to expect the government to do many things for us, and to control our individual conduct in many ways, that were not thought of at an earlier time. This is especially true of our national government. Still, we adhere in the main to the principle that the government should do things for us only when it is clear that they could not be so well done by private enterprise, and should control our conduct only so far as to secure equality of personal freedom.

One reason why America is looked upon by all the world as "a land of opportunity" is because of the unusual chance it

¹ Editorial, *Saturday Evening Post*, February 12, 1921.

gives to every one to choose what he wants to do for a living, A "land of opportunity" and to do it in his own way without interference by the government as long as he does not interfere with the equal rights of others.

In so far as private business affairs must be regulated, Americans have as a rule preferred that it should be, as far as possible, by the state government, which is near by and more directly under their control, rather than by the more remote national government. A great deal of the law which regulates our dealings with one another in business matters is known as the *common law*, which has not been enacted by law-making bodies, but is merely *custom* that has come down to us from an earlier time, and has the force of law through having been recognized by the courts. It consists of rules of business conduct that experience has shown to be necessary for the sake of fairness or justice. The common law has been supplemented, however, by a large body of *statutory law*, which consists of *statutes* enacted by law-making bodies. Most of these laws affecting personal business relations are state laws, administered by state and local officers.

It is in most cases the state law, for example, that fixes the conditions under which men may "incorporate" for business purposes; that regulates business transactions for the protection of all parties concerned, as in the transfer of property and other forms of contract; that regulates hours of work, the work of women and children, sanitary conditions of factories, employers' liability for accidents to workmen, what the minimum wage shall be, if any, and the like. It will be noted that these laws are primarily *protective* in character. Since they are state laws, they often differ greatly in different states.

Each state has a system of *courts* (see pages 511, 514). A very large part of their work is the administration of justice in matters pertaining to business disputes and property rights. Even in the criminal courts the majority of cases are those in which persons are charged with the violation of the property rights of others, or with fraud in business transactions.

A good deal of the *administrative machinery* of our state governments (see pages 497, 500) is employed wholly or chiefly in regulating business and industrial matters. **State service organization** This administrative machinery may be called the state's *service organization* (see pages 498-499). It performs service that the law authorizes or requires. Thus, the secretary of state issues certificates of incorporation to business organizations incorporating under the laws of the state (see page 330). There are state bank commissioners, insurance commissioners, railroad commissioners, and other similar officers to give effect to the laws relating to banks, insurance, railroads, and the like. Many states have labor boards or commissions to study industrial conditions and to settle labor disputes. A large part of the service performed is purely protective in character, as in the case of state or city police or factory inspectors, or city fire departments. Bank and insurance commissioners and similar officers see that the laws are observed for the protection of bank depositors, insurance policy holders, etc. Sometimes the service performed is for the *promotion* of business or industrial enterprises. Thus, many states have a forestry service, state geologists and entomologists, agricultural boards, and other agencies and officers to study and conserve the natural resources of the state; employment bureaus; schools for vocational training.

When our national government was created, every precaution was taken, by provisions in the Constitution, to prevent it from interfering unduly in the private affairs of citizens. **Limited powers of the national government** The Constitution contains special guarantees of property rights (see Amendments IV and V). Congress was given certain powers to regulate business activities and to promote business interests, but these powers were few in number and related to matters that obviously could not be left to the individual nor even to the several states without causing confusion and even endangering the freedom of the people;

matters in which coöperation among the states was essential, such as foreign and interstate commerce, a system of money, standard weights and measures, a postal service, copyrights and patents for the protection of authors and inventors (Art. I, sec. 8, clauses 3, 5, 6, 7, 8).



THE UNITED STATES TREASURY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Do you think that the government of your school is "paternalistic"? Give illustrations in support of your answer.

Consult with some lawyer friend to get examples of "common law" relating to business life. Report results in class.

Investigate and report on the origin of "common law" in England. (See Readings.)

Get a summary of the laws enacted at the last session of your state legislature (or of bills now before it for action) and make a list of the subjects of those relating directly to business or industrial matters.

From the constitution of your state, or from state government reports, make a study of your state "service organization," and note the departments, bureaus, commissions, etc., that deal with matters pertaining to commerce and industry.

Consult your father with regard to laws that regulate his business. Does he consider that these laws interfere with, protect, or promote his business interests, and in what respect?

Read the clauses in the United States Constitution referred to on page 348.

In stating the policy of the incoming administration in 1921, the President of the United States said in speeches, "Less government in business, and more business in government." What did he mean?

Money is a very wonderful coöperative device. Without it we should have to resort to *barter*, or a direct exchange of goods. In rural trading centers we sometimes see examples of this, as when a farmer brings eggs or butter to market and exchanges them for flour or sugar or salt. But this method of exchange cannot be carried very far without extreme inconvenience. Money makes it unnecessary by affording a common *medium of exchange* (see page 283).

Many kinds of things have been used as money by different peoples and at different times, as when the American colonists used strings of shells (wampum) and beaver skins in trading with the Indians. But money that is really satisfactory must consist of something that not only has value in itself, but that is also convenient to carry and handle, and that is durable. For this reason the metals, and especially the precious metals gold and silver, are now used for the manufacture of money by all civilized nations.

Our government operates four great factories, called *mints*, for the manufacture of coin. They are at Philadelphia, New Orleans, Denver, and San Francisco, but are supervised by the *director of the mint* in the Department of the Treasury at Washington, who also has charge of the eight *assay offices* in different parts of the country, where gold and silver are received in the form of bullion, tested for their purity, and forwarded to the mints for coinage.

A great deal of the money we use, however, is made of paper, as it is more convenient to handle in this form. But this paper money merely *represents* gold and silver money. Some of it

consists of *gold certificates* and *silver certificates*, for every dollar of which there is a gold or silver dollar in the United States Treasury. Other forms of paper money are *United States notes*, *bank notes*, and *federal reserve notes*, each of which is a promise of the government to pay to



THE BUREAU OF PRINTING AND ENGRAVING

Where United States currency and postage stamps are engraved.

the holder the amount indicated on the face of the note. They represent a form of credit (see page 316). We accept them because of our faith in the government to make them good at any time.

The *Bureau of Engraving and Printing* at Washington manufactures our paper money, as well as postage stamps, revenue stamps, bonds, and other government paper that has to be engraved from steel plates.

The Bureau of Engraving and Printing employs the most expert designers, engravers, plate printers, and other artisans, besides a large force of female operatives counting and examining the printed securities, and printers' assistants who aid the printers in their respective lines, making the product of this bureau very difficult to counterfeit.

In erecting and equipping the new building for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the government strove to furnish the employees with surroundings as comfortable and attractive as possible. It is in every way a model factory building, equipped with a coöperative lunch room, emergency hospital with special wards for men and women, every convenience for the health and well-being of the workers.

From the gallery of the high, airy room where the big presses hum, the writer looked down on the men and women, singing in the sunlight as they printed the new Victory Bonds. The song was "The Long, Long Trail," to the accompaniment of the undertone of great machines, and in the contentment of the workers one caught a symbolic glimpse of the spirit of labor in the future toward which the world must surely advance.¹

The value of a coin as money depends not only upon the amount of silver or gold it contains, but also upon the stamp or mark of the government which it carries. Individuals might manufacture coins; but if they did, the coins might vary in quality, just as shoes or clothing and other articles vary when made by different manufacturers. We have confidence in certain makes of shoes or clothes or tools because they bear the trademark of certain manufacturers in whom we have faith. When the government makes a silver dollar or a five-dollar gold coin, and puts its stamp upon it, we know that it contains exactly as much silver or gold as every other similar coin. The design on the coin or paper bill is the government's guarantee, in which we have full confidence.

The government's guarantee

For a similar reason it is better to have our money made by the national government than by the several state governments. It assures us of a uniform currency throughout the United States. In colonial times a number of the colonies made their own money, resulting in great confusion in intercolonial trade. A somewhat similar difficulty exists to-day in international trade, because no two nations have exactly the same system of money; but our government helps

National control of money

¹ *The Federal Executive Departments as Sources of Information*, pp. 45, 46. Bulletin, 1919, No. 74, U.S. Bureau of Education.

us even in this matter by keeping us informed regarding the *rates of exchange* of money between our nation and others.

Report on the making of coin money (see Readings).

What is done in an assay office?

Report on the making of paper money (see Readings).

Report on the history of money (see Readings).

Report on the uses of money (see Readings).



BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING

Examining currency for possible defects

One of the most important business institutions in every community is the bank. There are banks that operate under **Banking system** state laws, and there are *national banks*. The latter were established by national law and are under the control of the Treasury Department, the *comptroller of the currency* being the particular official responsible for their supervision.

The national banking system affords an example of a service by the national government that is now accepted as a matter of course, but that

was at first seriously objected to. Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury during Washington's administration, favored a national bank as a means of helping the new government to conduct its financial operations, and such a bank was soon established, but only in the face of great opposition from those who believed that it would give the government too great influence over the business affairs of the people. For forty years the bank question was one of the big political questions of the country. Our present national banking system dates from the Civil War, when it was created to aid in financing the war.

A bank affords a safe place for the deposit of money, and, by bringing together many deposits, makes them available for use as capital in commerce and industry (see page 315). **Services of the bank**
A bank performs another great service by promoting and safeguarding the use of *credit*. The means by which this is done are not altogether easy to explain in a brief statement, but one or two methods may be mentioned.

On page 350 *bank notes* were mentioned as a form of credit. State banks once issued bank notes, but these varied so in value and caused such disturbance to business that **Bank notes** the national government laid a heavy tax on them, so heavy that the state banks could no longer issue them. National banks still issue bank notes, but to do so they must buy government bonds and deposit these with the United States Treasury as security. National bank notes are backed by the credit of the United States government.

In most business transactions no actual money changes hands at all. One device that makes this possible is the *bank check*. It is said that eighty or eighty-five per cent of the **Bank checks** country's total business is transacted by means of checks. Stating the idea in another way, the amount of business transacted in one year (1913) by the use of checks was estimated to be fifty-four times greater than the average amount of money actually on deposit in the country's banks. We have seen that a bank does not keep on hand all the money that is deposited with it, but lends or invests a large part of it as capital

in business enterprises. This is possible because checks serve our purposes fully as well as real money for most of our business transactions.

While it is true that small depositors sometimes check out from month to month an amount equal, or almost equal, to their deposits, most banks have a rule that a depositor must maintain an average balance on deposit,



MACHINE THAT SIGNS TEN CHECKS AT A TIME

Used in the Bureau of War Risk Insurance

say to an amount of not less than \$200. If we take into consideration all the customers of any bank, we shall find that their aggregate withdrawals by check are very much less than their aggregate deposits. Thus it is that banks have on hand enough money to meet all ordinary cash withdrawals by check.

It has sometimes happened, however, that heavy demands on banks for cash beyond their immediate ability to pay have **Instability of credit** caused them to close their doors. Periods of business "panic" have occurred when banks failed in large numbers, dragging down with them business concerns of

other kinds. To prevent this sort of thing Congress, in 1913, created the *Federal Reserve System* of banks, at the head of which is the *Federal Reserve Board* composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the comptroller of the currency, and five other members appointed by the President. The country is divided into twelve *federal reserve districts*, with a



IN THE CENSUS BUREAU

Getting printed forms ready for taking the census

federal reserve bank in an important city of each district. In each federal reserve bank there are kept ample reserves of money that can be shifted quickly from one part of the district to another, or from one district to another, as business needs may require. The system has already proved its usefulness in increasing business confidence.

Report on the services of a commercial bank (see Readings; also consult your father or business friends).

Make a list of the banks in your community, classifying them as state banks and national banks.

What is a "trust company"? How does it differ from a bank? Add trust companies to your list.

What is a financial "panic"?

Write a theme on "Confidence, the foundation of business."

What states are included in your federal reserve district? Where is its federal reserve bank?

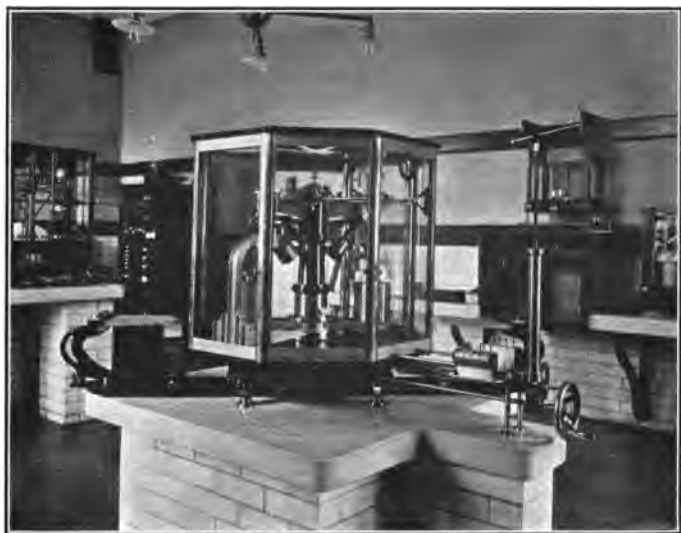
For various reasons arising from the nature of agriculture, it has not been as easy for farmers to get credit at times when they most need it as it is for other business men. In order to give assistance to farmers, Congress passed the *Federal Farm Loan Act*, in 1916, creating a system of *federal land banks*, one in each of twelve districts into which the country is divided for the purpose, all managed by the *Federal Farm Loan Board* at Washington. In order to get credit through this system, the farmer must agree to use the borrowed money for the purchase or improvement of land, or for equipment.

The provisions of the Federal Farm Loan Act afford an excellent illustration of the promotion of citizen coöperation by the help of government. The government does not lend money to the farmers; it merely provides the machinery by which the farmers may coöperate among themselves, and also secure the coöperation of investors in all parts of the country. As a rule the farmer can borrow money from the land bank only by being a member of a local "farm loan association." His dealings with the bank are through this association. His membership in the association gives him better standing and secures for him better terms than he could get if acting separately. The money the bank lends to the farmer comes from the farmers who belong to the association, and from investors in other parts of the country, who buy shares of stock in the bank and bonds issued by it on the security of the farmers' land and equipment. The whole scheme is one of coöperation which would be impossible but for the legislation, financial support, and supervision of the government at Washington.

As we have seen, money is a *measure of value*, and the government controls its manufacture in order that it may always conform to certain standards. Of equal importance in business are the measures of quantity and quality by which we buy and sell. Congress was given power to fix the standards of weights and measures.

**Standards of
weights and
measures**

It is not enough that Congress should say that pounds and ounces, feet and inches, bushels and pecks, gallons and quarts, shall be our standards of weight and measure; there must also be a means of guaranteeing that a pound is always a pound, and that a gallon is always a gallon, in any shop or market where



IN THE BUREAU OF STANDARDS, WASHINGTON

This large balance is so accurate in its work that it can tell the exact weight of the object tested to one one-hundred-millionth part. It is operated under a glass case lest the unnoticeable air currents of the room interfere with its precision.

people buy and sell, or where things are produced for the people's use. So our government maintains a *Bureau of Standards*, where the standards of all kinds of measurements are determined and maintained. Its service "indirectly or directly affects every individual in the United States."

"Even the air we breathe has been weighed" and its ingredients measured; "the volume of water delivered over Niagara Falls has been computed; the

distance from here to the sun has been measured. We lead a measured existence from the time we wake up in the morning and put on our clothes, the very threads of which have been tested, measured, and 'standardized,' to the time when we darken the electric lamp — the light, heat, and power of which have been measured" with the utmost accuracy.¹

Every city has its *inspector of weights and measures* who goes about periodically with his standard weights and measures with



IN THE BUREAU OF STANDARDS, WASHINGTON

These are our national "prototype" kilograms from which are derived the values of all weights used in this country. They were made by an international commission, from a combination of metals of especial durability. When it is necessary to handle them, it is done with the special lifter, the faces of which are covered with a very soft plush.

which he compares the weights and measures used in ordinary business. Those that do not conform to the standards, he condemns.

As our monetary system differs from those of other countries, so do our systems of measurement, to our great inconvenience **The metric system** in international trade. Most civilized countries use the *metric system*, which is a decimal system and therefore much easier to deal with than our national system in which we use awkward fractions. There is a movement in

¹ Federal Executive Departments as Sources of Information, p. 181. Education Bulletin, 1919, No. 74.

favor of the adoption of the metric system in our country, to the end of establishing common international standards.

An interesting illustrated description of the work of the bureau of standards is contained in an article entitled "A Wonderland of Science," in the *National Geographic Magazine*, February, 1915.

See, also, the description of the bureau in *The Federal Executive Departments as Sources of Information*, U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1919, No. 74, pp. 181-185.

Visit the office of the inspector of weights and measures. Get his latest published report, if available, and study it.

Report on the metric system. (See encyclopedia.)

One of the chief duties of the Treasury Department is to collect the customs duties levied by Congress on imported goods. The primary purpose of these is to provide **Protective** a revenue for the government (see pp. 429-430). **duties**

They have been used, however, to protect home industries against the competition of foreign industries. This is accomplished by making the tax upon the imports so high that the prices of these goods are raised above those of goods of home manufacture. Like the question of the national bank the question of protective duties has been hotly debated in political campaigns, many believing that duties on imports should be "for revenue only," while others believe that American industries should be protected by them. There is an intermediate opinion that protective duties are justified in the case of "infant industries," *i.e.*, industries that are struggling to establish themselves; but that they are not justified in the case of industries already well established and able to compete on equal terms with similar foreign industries.

The framing of a tariff law that is just to every one concerned is one of the most difficult things that Congress has to do. For example, American wool growers may want a duty levied on imported wool. Manufacturers of woolen goods, on the other hand, are likely to oppose such a duty, as it increases the price of the raw materials of their industry; while they want a duty levied on imported woolen fabrics. So every important industry seeks protection while opposing duties on materials which it has to buy.

All sorts of influence are brought to bear on Congress to secure tariff laws favorable to particular industries and to particular sections of the country. The difficulty of making a tariff that helps one without injuring others is apparent.



IN THE BUREAU OF STANDARDS, WASHINGTON

The giant testing machine which can register with equal accuracy the power necessary to crush an egg shell or to tear apart the strongest steel girder.

Those who oppose protective duties assert that they are an unwarranted interference by government with the natural operation of economic laws: that they interfere with natural competition, keep prices up to the detriment of the consumer, and favor privileged classes of producers. On the other hand, it is argued that the protection of home industries means not only the protection of the capitalist producers, but also that of American labor against the competition of foreign labor. Protection is **also** defended on the ground that it is to our national interest to become as completely self-sustaining as possible, and thus as fully independent of other nations in economic matters as possible.

**Arguments
for and
against pro-
tective duties**

This question of protective duties is one upon which there is the greatest difference of opinion, and one which we cannot settle. The truth is that individuals and groups of individuals are inclined to tolerate government control as long as it seems to be to their personal advantage, and to resent it if it seems to be to their personal disadvantage. No great question of this sort can be *justly* settled on any other basis than that of the *common* interest.

Is your father a "protectionist" or a "free trader"? What are his reasons? (Ask him.)

Make a list of industries in your city that are protected by import duties. What are some articles upon which these industries would probably like to have no duty, or a low one? Why?

If there is tariff legislation before Congress at the present time, is the resulting law likely to be strongly protective, or not? Report in class newspaper and magazine comment on the debates and proceedings of Congress with regard to such legislation.

The concentration of capital in the hands of great corporations, with the resulting monopolies in certain businesses, finally led to national legislation for the control of the latter. We have already read (page 274) of the **Government control of corporations** creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in 1887, for the regulation of transportation lines. In 1890 the Sherman Act, an "anti-trust law," was passed, making unlawful any "contract, combination . . . or conspiracy in restraint of trade." Under this and other similar laws the United States Department of Justice has brought suit against some big corporations, or combinations of capital, on the charge of unduly interfering with the natural development of business competition, and in some cases has caused the dissolution, or breaking up, of such combinations, or "trusts." While such laws have unquestionably checked certain abuses in business, they are said, on the other hand, to have hampered in some respects the economic and efficient growth of big business enterprises, as in the case of railroad corporations which have sometimes been

prevented from consolidating competing lines when to do so would apparently make for better transportation service to the country. (See page 276.)

Do you know of cases where suit has been brought against "trusts" for violation of the Sherman Act? What can you find out about such cases? What are some of the well-known "trusts" in the United States?



IN THE BUREAU OF STANDARDS, WASHINGTON

A balance so delicate that the expert must operate it from a distance lest the heat of his body should cause a disturbance.

The three most recently created administrative departments of the national government are those of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, all three of which have for their purpose the advancement of the economic interests of the country. We shall encounter some phases of the work of the first-named of these departments in the next chapter.¹

¹ For a detailed description of the highly interesting and important work of the Department of Agriculture see Dunn, *Community Civics and Rural Life*, chap. xii. Also see Readings.

Long prior to the creation of the Department of Commerce the United States had its *consular system*, administered by the *consular bureau* in the Department of State. This **The consular system** system is still maintained, with American consuls stationed in all the important cities of the world, one of their principal duties being to investigate and report on trade and industrial conditions in the countries to which they are sent.

The Department of Commerce was created, however, to foster the foreign and domestic commerce of our nation. It has *trade commissioners* and *commercial agents* in foreign countries, their duties being in some respects **The Department of Commerce** similar to those of the consuls. Among the bureaus included in this department is the *bureau of standards*, to which reference has already been made; also the *census bureau*, the *bureau of navigation*, the *bureau of fisheries*, and the *bureau of foreign and domestic commerce*.

The future of our commerce abroad, as at home, lies in so conducting its affairs that all parties thereto shall be gainers. We go, let us say, into a strange land. We may look at its people in two ways. We may say, "What is the utmost we can extract from these people by greater knowledge, by clever scheming, perhaps by the use of direct or indirect compulsion?" On the other hand we may say, "How can we help these people and win a due regard from them, gladly given because we are helpful? What are their needs? How can we supply them?" In the latter case would fall the investment of our funds abroad, in railways, utilities, public and private services of all kinds, the development of their natural resources of whatever kind they might be and, through the spending there of our means and our efforts, the building up those peoples. Out of that would normally come the growth of business flowing to our shores.¹

Report on the consular service of the United States (see Readings).

Who is the Secretary of Commerce at the present time?

What kinds of facts regarding the industries of your city are contained in the Census Reports of 1920?

Report on the work of the bureau of fisheries (see Readings).

¹ *The Federal Executive Departments*, p. 178. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1919, No. 74.

The Department of Labor, the most recently organized of the federal administrative departments, has for its purpose "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." It publishes a monthly magazine called the *Monthly Labor Review*, and a long list of bulletins and other publications bearing on a wide variety of subjects.

The department includes a *division of conciliation*, which has, in its seven years of existence, dealt with more than 4,100 industrial disputes, about 3,500 of which were successfully adjusted. In addition to this, several hundred threatened strikes were averted. It is the policy of the division not to interfere in any dispute unless one party or the other, or the public, asks for it. It does not have the power to force a settlement, but acts as a peacemaker to bring the contending parties together to settle their own difficulties.

The Department of Labor also contains the *Children's Bureau*, whose duty is to "investigate and report upon all matter pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people."

One of the greatest losses of time, energy, and enthusiasm is the waste on the part of children blindly endeavoring to discover for themselves suitable places in our complicated industrial system; and the years spent in blind-alley and overcrowded occupations are responsible for much of the unrest prevalent to-day.

In one investigation made in certain industrial cities it was found that:

. . . a surprising number of children between 5 and 15 years of age — in all, nearly 5,000, or 8 per cent, of the children of this age group — had at some time during the year done factory work in their homes, either by hand or by machine. Nearly 100 different kinds of work were done by the children who were employed by many different factories. They carded snaps and shoe buttons; assembled various kinds of jewelry; strung beads;

stripped, strung, and scalloped lace; pasted or stitched chenille dots on veils; finished underwear; and performed many other simple operations incidental to manufacture. Children — a number of them under 14 — used machines in such work as cutting holes and pressing humps on snaps, and assembling collar buttons. . . . Over half the children were unable to earn as a maximum 5 cents per hour. . . . Many of the children worked not only after school hours but also in the evenings; some worked exclusively



WAR RISK INSURANCE BUILDING

at night. A small number of children who were regularly employed during the day in factories or stores also worked at home every night. . . .

The system of home work results in making a factory of the home — a condition which operates against a normal environment for growing children.¹

During the war an *Employment Service* was developed for the purpose of directing an abundant supply of labor **Employment** to the points in industry where it was most needed; **Service** and at the conclusion of the war it performed great service in

¹ Report of the Secretary of Labor for the year ending June 30, 1920, pp. 181, 182.

finding work for discharged soldiers and sailors. One division of the Employment Service is the *junior section*, for the guidance of boys and girls from 16 to 21 years of age who are seeking employment. At the present time the service has been greatly curtailed owing to a lack of appropriations from Congress.

The *Bureau of Immigration* and the *Bureau of Naturalization* are parts of the Department of Labor. The former administers the laws regulating immigration, one purpose being to protect American wage earners against competition of foreign wage earners whose standards of living are lower than those in America. The Bureau of Naturalization supervises the admission of aliens into American citizenship (see page 58).

Though this chapter is long, it has but touched upon a few of the important ways in which our national government serves our economic interests. Some others have been noted in earlier chapters (XIII and XV), and still others will be mentioned later. From the study of the present chapter, however, two or three things should stand out. One is the growth of our great national service organization to meet the changing conditions of our social and economic life; an organization that performs services and affects our lives in a multitude of ways not dreamed of when the Constitution was adopted. A second thing is that, with all its extended activity, our national government has in the main adhered to the principle of doing things for us only when we cannot well do them for ourselves, or when state control is inadequate. In the third place, we have had illustration of the fact that, when the government undertakes any new kind of control over business enterprise or economic conditions, it is almost certain to meet with opposition from those who feel that their personal interests are interfered with; and that any control over such matters that the government attempts is finally accepted by the people only when it is clearly for the *common* interest, and not for that of a privileged group alone.

**What this
chapter
teaches**

Write (as a class) to the Department of Labor for a sample copy of the *Monthly Labor Review* (or find it in your public library) and make a summary of the subjects treated in it. Make a detailed report on some one article in it that especially interests you.

Report on the work of the children's bureau (see Readings).

Report on the work of the Department of Agriculture (see Readings).

Report any action that may have been taken by Congress recently for the further regulation of immigration.

Do you know of any complaints, from any source, that our national government has unduly interfered with private business interests? If so, in what specific instances? What arguments are put forward, by those who support it, in defense of this alleged interference?

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life:

Series A: Lesson 1, Some Fundamental Aspects of Social Control.

Lesson 9, Social Control.

Lesson 12, History of the Federal Departments.

Lesson 13, The United States Food Administration.

Lesson 20, Private Control of Industry.

Lesson 22, The Commercial Bank and Modern Business.

Lesson 23, The Services of Money.

Lesson 29, The War Labor Administration.

Series B: Lesson 15, Price Control of Wheat.

Lesson 21, National Standards and the Bureau of Standards.

Lesson 30, Employment Agencies.

Series C: Lesson 12, Patents and Inventions.

Lesson 14, The United States Fuel Administration.

Lesson 21, Before Coins Were Made.

Lesson 22, The Minting of Coins.

Lesson 23, Paper Money.

Lesson 24, Money in the Community and the Home.

Federal Executive Departments as Sources of Information, U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1919, No. 74.

Publications of the Department of Commerce relating to topics in this chapter.

The *Monthly Labor Review* and other publications of the Department of Labor relating to topics in this chapter.

Dunn, *Community Civics and Rural Life*, chap. xii, "Government as a Means of Coöperation in Agriculture."

Tufts, *The Real Business of Living*, pp. 59-62, 125-128, 182-184 (on the common law); pp. 273-275 (on the control of trusts).

CHAPTER XX

OUR LAND AND ITS RESOURCES

"We have nothing precious that does not represent struggle. We have nothing of lasting value that does not represent determination. We have nothing admirable that does not represent self-sacrifice. We have no philosophy except the philosophy of confidence, of optimism and faith in the righteousness of the contest we make against nature. We are to conquer this land in that spirit." — FRANKLIN K. LANE.

THE land is the source of all our wealth; of the necessities and comforts of life; of the means of living. This wealth is extracted from the land only by the application of labor. Land and labor are the two primary factors in the production of wealth. Without capital, however, — tools and machinery, — to aid him in the process, man would have remained in a state of savagery. But capital itself is the result of applying labor to the land and its resources, — plus saving. The savage was on the road to civilization only when he began to store up food supplies for times of scarcity, and to devote his leisure time to the improvement of his tools and weapons. With these he had a powerful ally in his struggle for the conquest of nature, which has been, in the long run, the chief feature of civilization. In an earlier chapter we have considered the partnership of labor and capital in this enterprise. In the present chapter we shall consider our land and its resources, and some of the things that our government is doing to help us in their control.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, the territory of the United States extended west as far as the Mississippi River.



Courtesy American Magazine of Art

LEWIS AND CLARK
EXPLORERS OF THE GREAT NORTHWEST
A statue at the University of Oregon

That part of the territory which lay west of the Allegheny Mountains had been claimed by seven of the thirteen states that formed the Union; but soon after the war they **The public lands** ceded these western possessions to the United States, having received a promise from Congress that these lands, which were largely unoccupied at the time, should be disposed of "*for the common benefit of the United States.*" They thus became *public lands*; that is, they belonged to the people of the nation as a whole. The common interest in these public lands was one of the chief influences that kept the thirteen states united under one government during the troubled times between the close of the Revolution and the adoption of the Constitution in 1789. As time went on, they were increased by the acquisition of new territory.¹ To turn this great domain with all its resources to the fullest service of the nation has been one of the greatest problems with which our government has had to deal.

From maps in school histories study the claims of the United States to the lands west of the Alleghenies.

What is the Ordinance of 1787?

What are the circumstances connected with each of our territorial acquisitions (see footnote, below)?

From whom did the colonists acquire the right to the land in the original 13 colonies?

When settlers began to occupy the lands west of the Alleghenies, many of them laid claim to tracts without much regard for the claims of others. Boundary lines were **The survey of the public lands** indefinite. Where surveys were made they were often inaccurate. Disputes arose that frequently found their way into the courts and dragged on for many years. The first thing necessary to put an end to this confusion and to

¹ Louisiana Territory was acquired in 1803, Oregon in 1805, Florida in 1812 and 1819, Texas in 1845, California and New Mexico in 1846-48, the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, Alaska in 1867.

bring the land under control was an accurate survey, and this was begun in Thomas Jefferson's administration.

This government survey has not yet been completed. It is being carried on by the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior. In 1917 more than 10,000,000 acres, or nearly 16,000 square miles, were surveyed. In that year there still remained unsurveyed more than 900,000 square miles of public land, 590,000 of which were in Alaska and 320,000 in the United States proper.

Is your state a "public land" state?

If so, are there any "public lands" left in your state? If so, locate them.

Study a map showing the lines of the survey in your state. (A description of the method of the survey will be found in a good encyclopedia, or in Dunn, *Community Civics and Rural Life*, pp. 194-196.)

If your state is not a "public land" state, who made the survey (state government, local government, private citizens)?

Are city lots in your city located with reference to the lines of the survey here referred to? (Inquire at home, or of real estate dealers, or at office of register of deeds in court house.)

In the method by which the government sought to secure the development of the public lands we have a striking illustration of its policy to depend as fully as possible upon **Public land** private initiative and enterprise (see page 345). It **policy** was the possession of the vast public lands and the method adopted of disposing of them that, more than anything else, made our country a veritable "land of opportunity." The policy adopted was to turn the land over, as rapidly as possible, to citizens who would make use of it. Various plans for bringing this about were tried in the early part of our history, until, in 1862, Congress passed the *Homestead Act*, which, with slight modifications, is in effect to-day. (See p. 113.)

The purpose of the government has been to encourage *actual settlement* in order to secure the development of the nation's resources, and for this purpose to allow each settler enough land to enable him to support a family in comfort. It was decided that 160 acres of *good farm land* was enough.

The policy of disposing of the public lands to individuals has of course been of great benefit to the latter; but we should not lose sight of the fact that the national well-being is the first consideration. As the Commissioner of the General Land Office said in a recent report (1916), "Every acre of public land disposed of under this line of legislation is *an investment*, the profits to be found in the general development of the welfare of the nation at large."



Courtesy *American Magazine of Art*

"SURVEYING THE LAND"

After a painting by Frank D. Miller

Do you know any one who has ever taken up a "homestead claim"? If so, learn how it was done.

If possible, get a description of a "land lottery" and a "land rush" in newly opened public lands.

It has been no simple matter to administer our public lands, and mistakes have been made. Sometimes the interests of individuals have not been sufficiently safeguarded. Many settlers have suffered serious loss, and many promising communities have failed, through the taking of homesteads in regions of little rainfall, as in western Kansas and Nebraska. The government now seeks to protect homesteaders against such errors by distinguishing carefully between lands suitable for ordinary agriculture and those suitable only for dry-farming and stock-raising, by informing prospective settlers in regard to the facts, and by allowing larger

**Safeguarding
the interests
of individuals**

entries in lands of the latter classes. Another mistake was made in allowing many of the first claimants to stock-raising lands so to locate their claims as to acquire the exclusive use of the only available water supply for miles around, thus making useless other large tracts. This might have been avoided by a little foresight.

On the other hand, the land laws have sometimes been abused. Large quantities of public land have fallen into the hands of speculators whose purpose is not to develop its resources, but to make a profit from the increased value of the land due to the efforts of others (see page 16). Immense areas of land have thus been withheld from production, or have been made to produce to a limited extent only, to the great loss of the nation.

In the days of transcontinental railroad building, large tracts of land were given to railroad companies by the government, with the expectation that they would dispose of it at reasonable prices to settlers attracted by the new transportation facilities, and would use the proceeds in railway development. In fact, however, large quantities of this land have been held in an unproductive state for speculative purposes.

An illustration of this is the case of the Oregon and California Railroad land grant, made by Congress in 1869 and 1870, and comprising more than 4,200,000 acres, most of which bore a heavy growth of valuable timber. "This railroad grant . . . contained a special provision to the effect that the railroad company should sell the land it received to actual settlers only, in quantities not greater than one-quarter section to one purchaser and at a price not exceeding \$2.50 an acre. By this precaution it was intended that in aiding the construction of the railroad an immediate impetus should also be given to the settlement and development of the country through which the road was to be constructed."

After selling some of the lands according to the terms of the agreement, the railroad company ceased to live up to these terms and sold large bodies of the land to lumber interests, thus putting a stop to the development of the region in the way intended by the government. The government

brought action against the railroad company, the outcome of which is that the government has bought back from the company at \$2.50 an acre all of the lands of the grant which remained unsold, amounting to about 2,300,000 acres and valued at from \$30,000,000 to \$50,000,000.

These lands are being classified "in accordance with their chief value, either in power-site lands, timber lands, or agricultural lands," and are to be disposed of accordingly. The timber will be sold separately from the land, and the land will then be opened to homestead entry.

By this arrangement the railroad company gets for the land all that it was entitled to under the terms of the original grant. In addition, provision is made for the payment to the counties in which the land lies of the taxes which the railroad company has not paid. As the lands are sold, the proceeds are to be divided between the state and the United States, the state receiving 50 per cent, 40 per cent being paid into the general reclamation fund of the United States (see page 378), and 10 per cent into the general funds of the United States Treasury.

(From the Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1916, pp. 46-49.)

Something like 133,000,000 acres of our public lands have from time to time been turned over to the states, the proceeds to be used for the promotion of public education, for the construction of roads, and for other purposes (see Chapters X and XV). In some cases these lands have not been used altogether for the purposes for which they were granted.

**Lands for
public
schools**

The responsibility for defects in our methods of administering the public lands rests in part upon our governmental representatives, who have not always dealt wisely with the extremely difficult problem. But it rests also upon each individual citizen. There are those who deliberately seek to defeat the purpose of the laws. There is one division of the General Land Office in Washington known as the Contest Division. In the year 1916 *more than 12,000 cases of alleged fraud were acted upon by this Division, and nearly 12,000 other cases awaited action at the end of the year!* But the responsibility comes much closer home than this. Many of us who would not think of violating the law have failed to appre-

**Responsibility
for land
frauds**

ciate the value of the gifts that nature has given us, and have apparently been "too busy" to inform ourselves as to whether or not our public lands have been administered solely for the purpose to which Congress devoted them just after the Revolution (see page 370). This, like every other matter of community interest, requires team work.



FRAUDULENT LAND CLAIMS

The land shown in the illustrations was claimed under the Homestead Act as agricultural land. It bore many thousands of dollars worth of valuable timber.

Have public lands been given to railroads in your state? If so, how were they used?

Have the schools of your state derived any benefits from the public lands? If so, how?

As long as we had a great abundance of unoccupied land it would perhaps have been uneconomic to increase the production of that which was occupied by the costly methods of agriculture used in Belgium, Germany, and other thickly settled countries. But our methods of farming have not only failed to get from the soil all

**Wastefulness
of early
farming**

that it is capable of producing, they have also robbed it of fertility without restoring to it what is taken from it. Thus the loss caused by wasteful methods is passed on to future generations. To continue such methods with our growing population and with the increasing demand for food products is thriftless in the extreme.

In 1839 Congress made its first appropriation of \$1,000 to be spent in gathering information about agricultural matters. In 1918 it appropriated the enormous sum of \$37,000,000 for the development of the resources of the soil! This money is expended by the Department of Agriculture for this purpose. In 1862 Congress made gifts of public lands to the several states, the proceeds from which were to be used for the establishment and support of agricultural colleges. In 1887 it made appropriations for the establishment of agricultural experiment stations to be conducted coöperatively by the Department of Agriculture and the state governments. In 1914 a law was passed (the Smith-Lever Act) under which annual appropriations are made for agricultural extension work to be conducted by the state agricultural colleges with the coöperation of the Department of Agriculture. The work that national and state governments are doing to develop the resources of the soil is not only very interesting to read about, but it affords a fine example of governmental activity in encouraging individual initiative and enterprise, and in securing coöperation among the agricultural population and between it and other business interests of the nation. (See Dunn's *Community Civics and Rural Life*, Chapter XII.)

Even in our cities there is a great deal of land lying idle that might be made productive of food. It was largely from vacant lots and back yards that the School Garden Army obtained its remarkable results during the war. At the present time the utilization of such waste spaces might do much to reduce the cost of living for many in our cities; and "everyone who creates or cultivates a garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the feeding of the nations."¹

Make a report on the United States Department of Agriculture (See Readings at end of chapter).

¹ President Wilson in his appeal to citizens at the beginning of the war.

Is there an agricultural college in your state? If so, where is it? Report on its work (send for its catalogue and other publications).

Is there an agricultural experiment station in your state? Where? Send for its recent reports.

Report on the operation of the Smith-Lever Act in your state.

Report on the use of vacant lots and back yards in your city for food production — extent and possibilities.



DESERT LAND

Covered with sagebrush; capable of irrigation. U.S. Reclamation Service

Much of our public land has been non-productive solely because of a lack of moisture. In 1902 a law known as the Reclamation Act was passed by Congress, providing that the proceeds from the sale of public lands in states containing arid regions,¹ except such as were already devoted to educational and other public purposes,

Reclamation
of arid
lands

¹ The states to which this law applies are Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. See map.

should be used for the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. This reclamation work is in charge of the Reclamation Service of the Department of the Interior, whose engineers have built great dams and reservoirs from which the water has been led by canals and ditches into the desert. By 1916 more than 1,000,000 acres had been irrigated under this act, the crop value in that year reaching \$35,000,000. The reclaimed land is disposed of to actual settlers in accordance with the homestead laws (see page 371), each homesteader repaying the government in annual installments the cost of reclaiming the land he occupies. The fund so created is used by the government for further reclamation projects. The principal irrigation projects of the Reclamation Service are shown on the accompanying map.

The Yuma project in Arizona opened a new Valley of the Nile where four crops of alfalfa are now raised on what once were arid lands. The streets of Yuma and Somerton are crowded with the automobiles of farmers, enriched by thousands of acres of splendid long-staple cotton, alfalfa, corn, and feterita. Another irrigated valley in Arizona, that of the Salt River, has few superiors in the world and has come in three years into great prosperity. Arizona planted to cotton last year 92,000 acres. Its crop was 96 per cent perfect, the best record in the United States.¹

There are probably 80,000,000 acres of swamp lands in the United States which could be made productive by drainage.

Swamp lands The national government has at various times granted to the states swamp lands aggregating 60,000,000 acres, with the expectation that the states would reclaim them. The states have, however, done very little to fulfill the expectation. Farmers themselves could reclaim much of this land at comparatively small cost, greatly increasing their own profit and the wealth of the country.

Report on the work of the Reclamation Service of the Department of the Interior (see Readings).

¹ Arthur D. Little, "Developing the Estate," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1919.

If you live in one of the states to which the Reclamation Act applies, report on what has been accomplished by it in your state.

Select one of the irrigation projects shown on the map (page 380) and make a report on it.

What irrigation work has been done in your state (if any) by state or private enterprises?



OATS HARVESTED IN RECLAIMED DESERT LAND, WYOMING

U.S. Reclamation Service

Report the story of the reclamation of Utah by the Mormons.

Report on any important swamp reclamation that may have occurred, or that might be possible, in your state.

Our unused water resources are very great. Niagara Falls have been harnessed for industrial uses, and with only a small part of their power in use they light the streets and houses, run the street cars, and turn the wheels of industry in Buffalo and Toronto and the neighboring region. But so far we are making use of less than

Conservation
of water
power

10 per cent of the power easily available from our streams. "The water now flowing idly from our hills to the sea could turn every factory wheel and every electric generator, operate our railroads, and still leave much energy to spare for new develop-



PRINCIPAL RECLAMATION SERVICE PROJECTS IN THE WESTERN STATES

ments."¹ Our nation has allowed many of the best water power sites of the country to fall into the hands of private speculators who hold them undeveloped, as in the case of farm lands, forests, and other resources.

¹ Arthur D. Little, "Developing the Estate," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1919, p. 388.

Floods are not only immensely destructive of property, (see p. 233), but they carry to the sea water that might be used for irrigation and for industry. Reservoirs, such as are built for irrigating projects, regulate the flow of water in streams and prevent floods. **Conservation of flood waters** In New England and New York reservoirs have been built



ROOSEVELT DAM — SALT RIVER PROJECT
U. S. Reclamation Service

for this very purpose, and probably 10 per cent of the flood waters that originate in these states is saved in this way and turned to industrial uses. Similar conservation of flood waters occurs in Minnesota, but it is estimated that for the country as a whole not more than one per cent of the flood waters is saved.¹ There are areas in which the reservoir system is im-

¹ "Conservation of Water Resources," Water Supply Paper 234, U.S. Geological Survey, 1919.

practicable, as in the lower Mississippi Valley. Here all that can be done is to protect the adjacent land by means of levees while controlling the floods farther up the valley.

Larger use of water power would conserve another valuable resource — coal. Of this fuel we have vast resources — “in



HARNESSING THE MISSISSIPPI

Power House at Keokuk, Iowa

West Virginia alone more than Great Britain and Germany combined.” But the supply is not inexhaustible, and we are

Fuel mining it and using it in an extravagant manner.
resources The loss here is not merely of heat and power and light, but of many valuable by-products of coal, including dyes, ammonia, vaseline, and many others.

To what extent is water power used in industry in your city and state? Is its use increasing? What and where are its sources? Are there any projects for its development?

To what extent are water power sites in your vicinity or state owned by

private parties? To what extent are they controlled by city, state, or national government?

Debate the question: All water power sites should be owned and controlled by the government.

Report on the loss from periodic floods in your vicinity or state. What steps are taken to prevent it?

Report on the control of floods in the Mississippi River.



WALLACE, IDAHO

Destroyed by Forest Fire

In 1891 Congress authorized the President to establish "forest reserves," the first to be created being the "Yellowstone Park Timberland Reserve." From time to time new reserves were established, and in 1907 the name was changed to "National Forests." In 1917, more than 176,000,000 acres were included within the National Forest boundaries. They are administered by the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture, at the head of which is the Chief Forester.

The purpose of the Forest Service is to secure the use of the forests "in such a way that they will yield all their resources to the fullest extent without exhausting them, for the benefit primarily of the home builder. The controlling policy is serving the public while conserving the forests."¹ Timber is cut and sold, but always with a view to developing future growth. The forests are protected against fire. Burned-over areas are reforested by planting. Water power sites are protected. The freest possible use of forest pasture land is permitted, but under such regulations as to prevent injury to the forests and the denudation of the land by overgrazing.

**Work of
the Forest
Service**

**Waste of
timber
resources**

But our timber resources are not all in the National Forests, and outside of them the waste continues to an appalling extent.

With a total annual cut of 40,000,000,000 feet, board-measure, of merchantable lumber, another 70,000,000,000 feet are wasted in the field and at the mill. In the yellow-pine belt the values in rosin, turpentine, ethyl alcohol, pine oil, tar, charcoal, and paper stock lost in the waste are three or four times the value of the lumber produced. Enough yellow-pine pulp-wood is consumed in burners, or left to rot, to make double the total tonnage of paper produced in the United States.

But the wastes in lumbering, colossal though they are in absolute amount are trivial compared to the losses which our estate has suffered, and still endures, from forest fires. The French properly regard as a national calamity the destruction of perhaps a thousand square miles of their fine forests by German shells. And yet the photographs that they show of this wreck and utter demolition may be reproduced indefinitely on 10,000,000 acres of our forest lands swept each year by equally devastating fire for which our own people are responsible. You have doubtless already forgotten that forest fire which last autumn, in Minnesota, burned over an area half as large again as Massachusetts, destroying more than twenty-five towns, killing 400 people, and leaving 13,000 homeless.²

¹ "The Status of Forestry in the United States," Forest Service Circular 167, 1909, p. 5.

² "Developing the Estate," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1919, pp. 384-385.

The nation has been defrauded of a great deal of wealth in timber by speculators who have taken advantage of the homestead laws.

Single tracts of 160 acres often have a value for the timber alone, of \$20,000. . . . Lands acquired . . . under the guise of the homestead law are to-day in the hands of lumber companies who promptly purchased them from the settlers as soon as the title passed, and are either reserving them for later cutting or are holding the land itself after cutting for from \$40 to \$60 an acre, or even more — a speculative process which effectively prevents the possibility of men of small means acquiring and establishing homes there.¹

To prevent this sort of thing, the government now sells the timber and the land separately, withholding from agricultural entry heavily timbered land until the timber is cut off.

Besides the National Forests, there are more than 4,000,000 acres of *state forests*. Twenty-four states have forestry departments, sometimes under a state **State forests** board or a commission, sometimes under the control of a single state forester.

Investigate and report on the work of the Forest Service of the United States Department of Agriculture (see Readings).

Locate and describe any state forests that may exist in your state.

Write a theme on the life of a forest ranger.

Report on the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior (see Readings). Locate some of the more important National Parks on the map. Write to the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, and to the National Parks Association, Washington, for literature descriptive of our National Parks.

Report on the purposes and methods of forestry. Is forestry taught in your state agricultural college or state university?

No country in the world is more richly endowed with mineral resources than the United States; but this endowment is by no means inexhaustible, although we have been **Mineral resources** inclined to treat it as if it were. We have been as wasteful of it as we have been of the soil; and mineral deposits

¹ "The National Forests and the Farmer," in *Year Book*, Department of Agriculture, 1914, p. 70.

once exhausted cannot be replaced, while the fertility of the soil can be restored, and forests replanted.

Mineral lands, like farming and timber lands, have been disposed of to individuals and groups of individuals for a mere **Conservation** song, and have then been exploited for private **movement** profit, often in the most wasteful manner. For many years patriotic citizens have been calling attention to



Courtesy *American Magazine of Art*

"THE PROSPECTOR"

After a painting by Allen True

this waste, and serious efforts have been made to secure legislation for the conservation of these resources, but with only partial success. In the last few years large areas of public land containing coal and other minerals have been withdrawn from sale by the government until careful surveys of their contents could be made and legislation secured to control more effectively their disposal or use. One plan is to *lease* such lands, instead of selling them, to persons who would develop their resources. A royalty of a few cents a ton paid by operators of coal mines to the government would bring enormous revenue to the nation.

It is said that for every ton of anthracite coal mined, a ton or more is wasted through uneconomic methods of mining. A similar waste occurs in the mining of other minerals. **Waste of fuel** There is also great loss through imperfect methods of reducing metals from their ores. In the case of coal, there is enormous waste in factories and homes through imperfect combustion. "It is estimated that 20,000,000 tons of coal go up the chimneys in smoke each year." This is in large part unnecessary. During the recent war we had our attention called sharply to the waste of fuel by unnecessary illumination of our streets, dwellings and business places. Here is one point where each of us can help to conserve our national fuel supply — by seeing that gas and electric lights are not left burning when not needed.

The Department of the Interior of the United States government is performing a great service, so far as existing laws permit, for the conservation of our mineral resources. The **Service of the Land Office, in this Department, has the disposal of public mineral lands as well as of public farm lands.** **Department of the Interior** The Geological Survey is engaged in examining and mapping mineral resources of all kinds, classifying the public lands with respect to their mineral contents, placing a value upon them, and making various kinds of studies of these resources. The Bureau of Mines studies "problems in the mining industry in order that it may be carried on with greater efficiency, profit to industry and society, and under the best conditions for the safety and health of the miner. . . . Much of the work of the bureau is directed toward securing greater economy and efficiency in the use of fuels. . . ." During the past year (1920) the Department of the Interior has been conducting a survey of the region between Boston and Washington to determine the practicability of electrifying the industries and railroads of this region by utilizing the water power available, and thus effecting a great saving in fuel, materials, and labor.

While this region is a very small part of the United States, it produces nearly half of the manufactured products of the country. "It is properly termed the finishing shop of American industry."¹



THE COAL MINER

The great majority of persons who invest their savings . . . are unconscious of the men who labor to make their investment profitable.

"It is not a figure of speech to say that every American has it in his heart that he is in a small sense a discoverer; that he is joining in the revelation to the world of something that it was not before aware of and of which it may some day make use. Men work for what they think worth while, and if they find their joy in proving that land has coal, or will raise wheat, or that a refractory ore may be reduced at a practicable cost, and tell about it proudly, they may be serving themselves, but they are also serving the

¹ Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1920, pp. 4, 5.

world. The clerk in the store or the mechanic in a mill may not consciously engage in any enterprise which makes this appeal, but when he learns that the Government of which he is a part has within the year opened a town on the shores of the North Pacific which now has nearly 3000 inhabitants, and has driven a railroad nearly 40 miles inland toward the Arctic Circle on its way to the coal fields of the Matanuska and the gold fields of Tanana, he has a feeling that he, too, is participating in the making of this new world."¹

Make class reports on the topics suggested in the references to *Lessons in Community and National Life* in the Readings at the end of the chapter.

Watch the newspapers and magazines for new development and use of resources.

Follow current legislation in Congress with reference to the public lands and the conservation of natural resources.

Investigate and report on the work of your state government for the conservation of natural resources (soil, forests, minerals, fish and game, water power).

READINGS

Dunn, *Community Civics and Rural Life*, chaps. xiv, xv (contains some additional material).

Lessons in Community and National Life:

Series A: Lesson 4, What Nature Has Done for a Typical City.

Lesson 13, The United States Food Administration.

Lesson 14, Substitute Foods.

Series B: Lesson 5, Saving the Soil.

Lesson 6, Making Dyes from Coal Tar.

Lesson 9, How Men Made Heat to Work.

Lesson 13, The Department of the Interior.

Series C: Lesson 4, Petroleum and Its Uses.

Lesson 5, Conservation as Exemplified by Irrigation Projects.

Lesson 6, Checking Waste in the Production and Use of Coal.

Lesson 10, Iron and Steel.

Lesson 14, The United States Fuel Administration.

Lesson 16, The Commercial Economy Board of the Council of National Defense.

Other Government Publications:

Proceedings of a Conference of Governors at the White House, 1908 (Government Printing Office).

¹ Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1915, pp. 2, 3.

Report of the National Conservation Commission, 1909 (Senate Document 676, 60th Congress. Government Printing Office.)

Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Interior. (That for 1915, pp. 1-30, contains an interesting review of our natural resources and their use; also pp. 151-209, a comprehensive and interesting discussion of our mineral resources and their development.)

Publications of the Geological Survey, the Bureau of Mines, the Reclamation Service, the General Land Office, the National Park Service — all in the Department of the Interior.

Publications of the Bureau of Fisheries, Department of Commerce.

Publications of the Forestry Service, Department of Agriculture.

Publications of the Department of Agriculture. Such as,

Farmers' Bulletin 340, Declaration of Governors for conservation.

Year Book, 1914, 65-88, The National Forests and the Farmer.

Year Book, 1916, 301-310, Resources of Potash.

Year Book, 1916, 177-198, Agriculture and Reclamation Projects.

Year Book, 1916, 107-134, Farms, Forests, and Erosion.

Year Book, 1915, 147-154, Unprofitable Acres.

Many books and articles have been written on the subject of conservation. Consult your public library. A few good titles are:

Van Hise, C. R., *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States.*

Pinchot, Gifford, *The Fight for Conservation.*

Cronan, R., *Our Wasteful Nation.*

Beard, Chas. A., *American Government and Politics*, 401-416.

American Year Book.

CHAPTER XXI

PROPERTY RIGHTS

When a thief or vandal takes or destroys another person's property, the loss of the property is not the worst thing that happens, but the attack upon *property rights*. The right to security in one's possessions is among the most sacred rights of a free people, being classed with the right to life, the right of free speech, the right of petition, the right to freedom of religion. It is by securing these rights that the law makes us free. The sacred right to property is as truly violated by one who steals a nickel as by one who robs a bank of a thousand dollars, by one who ruins our flower bed as well as by one who burns our house. The amount has nothing to do with it. The tax which the English government imposed on tea imported by the American colonists was not a heavy tax, but the colonists objected because it was imposed without their consent.

People have not always and everywhere enjoyed full right to individual ownership of property. Land occupied by American Indians, for example, was the property of the clan, or tribe, and not of individuals. Even the game that an Indian hunter killed belonged to the *group* and not to him alone. The same was true of the maize and other crops that agricultural Indians raised; they were stored in a common storehouse and distributed among the members of the clan according to needs. This constitutes what is known as *communal ownership* — ownership in common.

There are people to-day, known as communists, who believe that communal ownership is feasible and desirable. Various experiments in this

direction have been tried in the United States and other civilized countries, but few of them have met with any high degree of success.

Among the American Indians, however, a certain amount of personal property came into being. The hunter owned his bow and spear — that is, his weapons: these could not well be owned in common. So, also, the woman acquired personal ownership of household utensils, and even of the rude dwelling itself, of which she was undisputed mistress. Thus we have the beginnings of individual ownership of personal property.

A similar development of property rights occurred among our European ancestors. Land in England, for example, was once held communally. When England was conquered by foreign kings, these took possession of the land in their own name, and proceeded to distribute large shares to their nobles, and these, in turn, to their favorites. Thus we have the beginning of large landed estates in England. As for the conquered peoples who lived on the land, they merely had the *use* of parcels of land allotted to them by their lords. When America was discovered, its discoverers took possession of the land in the name of their sovereigns, who then granted large areas to court favorites, or to commercial companies, who in time disposed of most of it to colonists.

Thus the right to individual ownership of property has been only gradually *acquired*; but once acquired, it has been jealously guarded against infringement, not only by other individuals, but also by government itself. The Revolutionary War was fought in defense of this and other rights against violation by the English government. When the Constitution of the United States was framed the people refused to ratify it unless amendments were added guaranteeing these rights. Thus it was provided that “no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law” (Amendment III); that “the

**Private
ownership
of land**

**Constitutional
guarantees
of property
rights**

right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated . . .” (Amendment IV); that “no person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation” (Amendment V). The Constitution also provides that “no state shall . . . pass any . . . law impairing the obligation of contracts” (Art. I, sec. 10, clause 1), and in various other ways protects our property rights. Our state constitutions contain many similar provisions.

How are property rights guaranteed in your state constitution?

Read the charges made in the Declaration of Independence against the king of England with respect to the violation of property rights.

In what ways was it charged that Germany violated our property rights prior to our entrance into the World War?

Are property rights as sacred in time of war as in time of peace?

Study and report on (1) the development of private property in land in England; (2) in colonial America.

What can you find out about the conception of property among the American Indians?

Look up the story of Robert Owen, English communist, and the founding of New Harmony in America (see encyclopedia).

What can you find out about experiments in communism in Russia since the recent war?

If your father owns a piece of land he doubtless has a *deed* for it, containing an accurate description of the land and giving him title to ownership. If he buys a house he gets a deed for it; if he sells one, he gives a deed to the purchaser. In each county there is an office of government where all deeds are recorded—the office of the recorder or register of deeds. The record of every piece of land is thus kept and is open to examination by any one. If a man wishes to buy a piece of land he will go to the office of the recorder and find out whether the title to the land is clear. Only by so doing may he be protected against error or fraud.

Protecting
ownership
of land

Since property is likely to change hands a number of times, and since men frequently *mortgage* their property as security for loans or other indebtedness, thus giving to others a claim to it, it is sometimes a tedious and difficult task for a buyer to trace the record back and to be sure that the title is clear. It sometimes requires months. There are lawyers who make a business of examining the records and making *abstracts of titles*. This involves expense. Besides, there is always the chance that a mistake may be made somewhere. For this reason some states have adopted a plan known as the *Torrens System* of land transfer, from the name of the man who devised it in Australia.

Under the Torrens System the government itself, through its proper officer, may examine the title to any piece of land. The land is then *registered*, and the owner is given a certificate as evidence. If a mortgage is placed on the land, or if it changes hands, the transaction is recorded on the certificate and in the office records. A mere glance at the record of registry or at the certificate is sufficient to ascertain the title to the land. Thus time and expense are saved; and moreover the government gives its absolute guarantee to the owner or buyer as to his rights in the land.

The Torrens System is in use in some form in fourteen states of the Union, in the Philippines and Hawaii, and in various other countries of the world.

Has your father a deed to the property you occupy? If so, ask him to show it to you and explain it. How is the land described?

At the first convenient time, make a visit to the office of the recorder of deeds in your county, and ask to have some of the records shown and explained to you, preferably the record of the property you occupy. Where is the office of the recorder?

What is a *mortgage*? An *abstract of title*? (Consult parents.)

Is the Torrens System in use in your state?

We have seen that no person may be deprived of property by the government "without due process of law." This means that the procedure provided by law must be followed, and that the citizen whose property is taken may have his side of the case presented, the value of the property in question appraised by impartial judges, and so

on. It is the business of *the courts* to see that justice is done. See pages 511-515.

The community has certain rights to a citizen's land that are clearly recognized as superior to the citizen's rights. Acting through its government, it may take a part of a citizen's property by taxation (see Chapter XXIII). Taxes are paid in money;



THE RIGHT OF EMINENT DOMAIN

The building on the left is to be removed to make way for the construction of a highway in Des Moines, Iowa (see p. 258). The new building under construction on the right will face the new highway, and the property on which it stands has increased in value almost overnight from \$50.00 to \$200.00 a front foot (see p. 266).

but if a citizen does not pay the tax upon his land, the government may sell the land for enough to cover the obligation.

Again, the government may take a citizen's land for public uses, if the interests of the community demand it; by what is called the *right of eminent domain*. For example, if the interests of the community demand that a new road be built, or a new street laid out, the government will seek to buy the necessary land from the property owners along the line of the proposed improvement. Some property owner may say that he does not want the road

or street to run through his land, or he may try to get a price beyond what his land is worth. The government may then *condemn* the required land and fix a price despite the property owner's objections. The citizen whose land is taken must, however, be paid for it; the Constitution of the United States protects him by the provision, "nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation" (Amendment V, last clause).

The right of eminent domain may be exercised to secure a site for a schoolhouse, a post office, an army post, a court-house, or for any other public purpose. The government also authorizes corporations that perform a public service to exercise the right, as in the case of railroads which must obtain a right of way for their tracks, and sites for their yards and stations.

What instances of the exercise of the right of eminent domain in your community can you give?

The government may control the use to which a citizen may put his property, and even destroy it in time of emergency, by what is known as the *police power*. The police power is a somewhat vague power that has never been strictly defined, but it is a very great power. It has been stated as the power "to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education, and good order of the people, and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the state, develop its resources, and add to its wealth and its prosperity." In exercising such broad powers, however, the government must have regard to the constitutional provision that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of . . . property, without due process of law," or "without just compensation." In these constitutional provisions on the one hand, and in the police power on the other, we have balanced against each other the liberties of the

individual citizen and the welfare of the community. To preserve this balance is a delicate task.

The delicate balance between the property rights of an individual as guaranteed by the Constitution, and the rights of others as protected by the police power, is well illustrated by a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court. During the war Congress and some of the state legislatures passed "rent laws" for the protection of tenants against profiteering landlords. It was a time when it was practically impossible for tenants to find new living quarters. The rent laws authorized them to refuse to pay increased rents until a rent commission should have determined the justice of the increase. Landlords denied the validity of these laws on the ground that they violated their property rights as guaranteed by the Constitution, and brought suit in the courts against tenants in order to test the matter. Some of these cases finally came to the Supreme Court which upheld the law by a vote of 5 to 4. By four of the Justices of the Court the law was held to deprive the landlord of property in an unconstitutional manner; but the majority of five declared it to be a proper exercise of the police power for the protection of the tenants. The decision of the majority of course prevailed.

On the other hand, the community may permit the use of public property by private corporations to enable them to perform a public service, such as providing transportation, electric light and power, gas, water, or telephone and telegraph service. These are known as *public utilities*. For the performance of such services, the corporation must have the use of the public streets, the privilege of such use being known as a *franchise*. (See Chapter XV.)

The granting of franchises in American cities has been accompanied by grave abuses. The services performed by public utilities corporations are highly essential to the life of a city; but in granting franchise privileges the interests of the community have not been sufficiently protected. Public service corporations, after having acquired a monopoly in their respective lines of business, have often profiteered, given poor service, and in other ways abused the confidence reposed in them by the people or their government.

They have often exercised a corrupt influence over the government. A franchise is an extremely valuable form of property, and it has very often happened that, in disputes between the city and the corporation, the courts have decided in favor of the corporation to the disadvantage of the public interest, on the ground that to do otherwise would violate the property rights of the corporation.



SOME OF THE THINGS THAT ARE UNDER THE STREET

Showing sewers, water pipes. and conduits for wires

Cities and states are now seeking to control more effectively the granting of franchises and the management of public service corporations in the interest of the public. Instead of leaving the granting of franchises in the hands of the city council which, in large cities, has too often been dominated by corrupt influences, this power is now more often placed in the hands of a special body of men

**Control of
public
utilities**

not so easily controlled by such influences. In many cases, also, the granting of a franchise must be submitted to the people for their vote. *Public utilities commissions* have been created to regulate such matters as the fixing of rates that may be charged for the service rendered.

Sacred as property rights are, they are less so than the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." A man will usually sacrifice his property to save his life, to preserve his liberty, or to secure happiness. A normal man looks upon property merely as a means by which to secure these other ends for himself and those who are dependent upon him.

Moreover, one man's property rights are not so sacred as *another* man's rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." That is to say, when one man's property rights come into conflict with the physical, spiritual, or social well-being of others, the latter demand first consideration. It is undoubtedly true, however, that the property rights of one group have often been exalted above these other rights of other groups in the community. This is the case when a public service corporation is protected in its franchise privileges even when they are detrimental to the higher interests of the community; or when the capitalist or employer is protected in his property rights to the obvious physical or spiritual injury of those whom he employs.

What instances of the exercise of the police power in your city can you give: (1) in regulating what a citizen may do with his property; (2) in the destruction of property for the public welfare?

What public utilities corporations hold franchises in your city?

What abuses of franchise privileges are reported in your city?

Who has the power to grant franchises in your city? Is there a franchise "referendum" in your city?

Debate the question: "Resolved, that public utilities should be owned and operated by the city, and not by private corporations."

READINGS

Tufts, James H., *The Real Business of Living*, pp. 62-65, 137-140, 236-252.

Beard, Charles A., *American Citizenship*, chap. v, Property Rights.

Beard, Charles A., *American City Government*, chap. vii, Franchises and Public Utilities; chap. viii, Municipal Ownership.

Encyclopedia, under *eminent domain*, *police power*, *private property*.

CHAPTER XXII

DEPENDENT, DEFECTIVE, AND DELINQUENT MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY

IN every community there are some members who are not self-supporting and who do not contribute materially to the community's progress (see Chapter V and Chapter XVI, p. 288).

The very young and the very aged come within this group. Both are peculiarly dependent upon others, though the aged may, by thrift in earlier years, have acquired a competence with which to meet the needs of old age; and the young are expected, in later years, to compensate the community for the care they have received from others during childhood.

There are those, also, of all ages, who are incapacitated for self-support and for service by disease, or by physical or mental defects such as bodily deformities, blindness, or feeble-mindedness. In addition, there are some who, though physically able to perform service, deliberately prey upon the community in one manner or another without giving anything in return. The latter constitute the *delinquent* class, and include criminals.

Normally, the needs of those who are unable to support themselves, whether because of extreme youth or old age or because of physical or mental defects, are provided for by the family. It frequently happens, however, that the family is unable to perform this service. It may be entirely broken up. Children may be left without parents, and the aged without children. The natural supporters of the family may be stricken by disease, or by accident, or by financial misfortune. Moreover, the proper

Who constitute dependents, defectives, and delinquents

Relation of the family to the problem

care and treatment of many defectives require better facilities and greater skill than can be provided even by well-to-do families. Thus a class of *dependents* is produced — dependents upon the community as a whole. They may or may not be *defectives*, physical or mental.

In the lower stages of civilization it was not uncommon for the feeble and the helpless to be put to death, even sickly **Treatment in** children and persons infirm from old age. **early times** was done in the name of community interest. The struggle for existence was so severe that the presence of non-producing or non-fighting members endangered the entire group. Besides, it was the belief in most cases that the sacrifice of the helpless simply hastened their passage into a happier life.

Humane considerations now prevent such treatment of the helpless. Moreover, with our increased skill in medicine and **Reducing the** surgery and education, the diseased and defective **wastage of** may often be restored to health or fitted for some **human life** form of self-support that makes them happier and of use to the community. The wastage of human life has been greatly reduced in recent years. Many of the soldiers who returned from the war in Europe so broken in body or mind that in former times they would have dragged out the remainder of their lives a burden to themselves and to others have, by surgical skill and special forms of education, been restored wholly or partially to the ranks of the self-supporting and useful members of the community. This *rehabilitation* of the dependent and defective members of the community, whether their misfortune is due to war or other causes, is the chief aim of the treatment given them by the community at the present time.

It is an accepted principle that each community should, so far as possible, care for its own unfortunates. The effectiveness with which it is done varies. The office of *overseer of the poor* is one of the oldest in our country and is found in practically every small community under that or some other name. His

duty has been to administer relief, usually in the form of food, clothing, or fuel, to those who apply or of whose need he is convinced. Cities have developed a more elaborate organization for the care of dependents, centering in a department of charities, or a bureau of charities within the department of health, or a department of public welfare which includes under its supervision not only the actual care of dependents, but also health, recreational, and other activities designed to remove the causes of dependency. At the head of this department or bureau there is usually a commissioner of charities or of public welfare.

Some cities maintain public employment offices in an endeavor to solve the problem of unemployment. In the city of Dayton, Ohio, an employment exchange operated co-operatively by the city and state governments received 4,951 applications for work in 1916, referring 3,347 of these to positions and actually placing 3,067. Some cities maintain public lodging houses where temporary shelter is given to homeless persons. The municipal lodging house of New York City in 1915 provided 350,362 accommodations to such persons, a daily average of 960.

It provides a medical clinic, a dental clinic, and a free employment bureau. Applicants are given supper and breakfast, bath, fumigation of clothing, medical examination and a comfortable bed for one week, during which time they must work, if able, in the industrial shops or gangs, with alternate days off to seek employment. Dispossessed families, mothers with babies, and the sick and aged are given special care.¹

While cities thus have their organization and institutions for dealing with problems of poverty, the usual governmental unit for administering "poor relief" is the county or, in some cases, the township. The county "almshouse," or "poor farm," or "infirmity," is a local institution for this purpose. Even cities send many of their poor

¹ *Municipal Year Book of the City of New York*, 1916, p. 97.

to this county institution. Unfortunately such institutions are often badly managed. Men and women, old people and children, healthy and diseased, blind and crippled, moral and immoral, even the insane, are sometimes housed together, mingling with one another with little restriction. The evils of such a system are apparent.

Moreover, the policy of the typical almshouse has been merely to give shelter and food and clothing to those who appeal for it, rather than to remedy the causes of dependency or to restore the unfortunate to a basis of self-support and usefulness. Medical treatment is of course given to those who need it, but the means do not exist to give special expert treatment to particular classes of defectives. Little educational opportunity worthy of the name is afforded. While able-bodied inmates usually have some work to do, it is seldom of a character to train for self-support or to create habits of industry.

To provide this special treatment requires elaborate equipment and expert service, which cost a great deal of money, more than most counties or towns feel that they can afford. Remedies proposed Communities must come to realize that they cannot afford to neglect their unfortunate members, no matter what it costs to care for them. But the cost need not be so great as it seems. A great deal of money is now wasted on almshouses without adequate results. This can largely be remedied by insisting upon more expert supervision in such institutions, and by a system of regular inspection by expert state officers. Greater care should be exercised with respect to those who are admitted. Only the deserving should be allowed to live on the public funds. It is not uncommon for some classes of shiftless people to seek shelter in the almshouse during the winter, where they live in comparative comfort and idleness at the public expense, only to leave in the spring for a life of aimless indolence, imposing as beggars upon kind-hearted people.

Much progress has been made recently in some of our states in methods of dealing with problems of dependency even in rural districts. In some cases county *welfare boards* **County welfare boards** have been created, with the purpose not only of administering more effective relief to those who are in actual need, but also of investigating and removing, as far as possible, the causes of dependency. Such boards employ trained executives, and seek to unite in common effort all agencies in the county that have direct interest in the problem, such as the health officers, the schools, and the churches.

The county almshouse should be only a temporary place of detention for many of the people who now are kept there permanently. Those who need special treatment or training should be passed on as quickly as possible to special institutions that are equipped to care for them. **Purpose of state institutions** Since most local communities could not well afford to maintain such institutions for the comparatively few who would need them, the state should maintain enough of them at convenient points to provide for the needs of all local communities.

The states do maintain such institutions — hospitals and sanitariums for those suffering from various types of physical and mental disease, homes for orphans and for the aged, and for persons with incurable diseases, asylums and schools for the blind and the deaf-and-dumb, industrial schools for boys and girls. The problem of the state is, first, to develop such institutions to the highest possible degree of efficiency for the *rehabilitation* of their patients or inmates, and second, to secure effective coöperation on the part of local authorities and institutions in transferring those, and only those, who are entitled to state assistance. In some states each of these state institutions is managed independently by its own board of control, while in others their management is supervised by a single state board.

When dependents are cared for in institutions, it is called *indoor relief*; when they are cared for outside of institutions, in their homes, it is called *outdoor relief*. Outdoor relief requires community organization and coöperation and expert leadership quite as much as indoor relief. The lack of these has often resulted in great harm both to the community and to the needy person. Promiscuous giving of charity by well-intentioned persons often results in giving to the undeserving as well as to the deserving. There are lazy and shiftless individuals who find it easier to live on charity than by honest work, and whose lack of self-respect permits them to do so. Sometimes they do so by fraudulent methods. Giving to such persons encourages pauperism and fraud instead of curing it. Kind-hearted people often say that they would rather be cheated occasionally by dishonest applicants for charity than to fail to help the really needy by too great caution. The answer to this is that by proper community organization and coöperation the needy will be found with much greater certainty, the fraudulent will be detected, and the aid given to those who should have it will be much more effective. The citizen who refers an applicant for aid to an effective organization in a great majority of cases serves both the applicant and the community better than by attempting to give aid directly. A few pennies or dollars given even to a worthy applicant may not reach the root of the trouble at all, and may be the innocent cause of perpetuating the trouble.

Many voluntary organizations exist for charitable and philanthropic purposes. The church has always been one of the chief agencies to care for the poor and unfortunate; but there are many others. Sometimes they maintain hospitals and other institutions for the treatment of those who need indoor relief. They have done a great deal of good. But they are subject to the same difficulties that individuals encounter in dealing wisely with particular cases. They are

frequently deceived by impostors. Seldom do they have expert investigators to follow up individual cases and to prescribe the most effective remedy. They frequently duplicate one another's work in a wasteful manner.

This lack of team work has been in large measure remedied by the establishment of *charity organization societies*. Such societies do not always give direct relief, but act rather as a "clearing house" for all charitable agencies in the community. They have a corps of trained investigators who look into each case reported by any individual or by other charitable agencies, make a careful record of it, and prescribe the proper treatment. The case may then be turned over to one of the other agencies equipped to handle it. Philanthropic persons may turn to the charity organization society for advice as to purposes for which money is most needed.

The care of dependent members of the community is one of the things responsibility for which we have been slow to place in the hands of government, and which government, when it does have the responsibility, has been slow to handle in an effective way, as in the case of the almshouse (see page 403). It has been left very largely to voluntary agencies to work out scientific and effective methods of dealing with this problem. Our universities now give instruction relating to the problems of poverty and the treatment of dependent members of the community, and train "social workers," who have thus far found employment chiefly as secretaries and investigators for voluntary philanthropic organizations. In some of our cities there are special "training schools for social service." It is only as the work of students and the experience of voluntary organizations have demonstrated the community responsibility for the solution of these social problems and the necessity for united community action in dealing with them, that state and local governments have begun to develop "departments of public welfare" to perform the

Charity or-
ganization

Value of
private
initiative

service. Even our national government, especially through its Department of Labor, is giving attention to the causes of dependency and methods of dealing with it; and there is now under consideration (in 1921) the possible creation of a national Department of Public Welfare, whose head would be a member of the President's cabinet.

There will doubtless always be some dependent and defective members of the community for whom the community must care. Their number, however, may be greatly reduced by creating conditions that will remove their causes. It has been reported from many localities, for example, that the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors has resulted in the emptying of the "work houses" which communities have sustained for the confinement of vagrants and persons convicted of petty misdemeanors. Much dependency has resulted from the crippling of wage earners by industrial accidents and from "industrial diseases" arising from work in unwholesome conditions. These causes may be removed by the maintenance of wholesome working conditions, by the installation of safety devices, and by the exercise of greater care by workers and employers. The "safety first" movement strikes at the root of much dependency. Inability to read signs and to understand instructions on the part of illiterate and foreign workers is the cause of many accidents.

Some states have passed "employers' liability laws," designed to hold employers responsible for accidents resulting from failure to provide safe working conditions, and "workmen's compensation laws," which provide that an injured workman shall receive a portion of his wages during incapacity from accident or illness. In some countries various forms of *compulsory state insurance* have been adopted. Germany, for example, has long had laws requiring employees to take out accident insurance and insurance against sickness, both employees and employers contributing to the insurance

fund. Pensions for the aged and for widows are also provided for, the German Government itself contributing to the fund for this purpose. At the close of the year 1919, 39 of our 48 states had laws providing for aid by the state to mothers who were unable to provide properly for their children.

The aim in our community life should be as far as possible to *prevent* dependency and not merely to relieve suffering after it occurs. We shall find that the problem will tend to disappear in proportion as we develop in our communities adequate provision for health protection and physical development (Chapter XI), for vocational and general education (Chapter X), for wholesome recreation (Chapter XII), for the cultivation of habits of thrift (Chapter XVII); and as we are successful in producing a right attitude toward the problem of earning a living and wholesome relations between employer and employee (Chapters XVI, XVIII).

Describe the organization and duties of that part of your city government which is responsible for the care of dependents.

Is the policy of this department primarily one of *relief*, or of *rehabilitation*, or of *prevention*? Illustrate by examples.

What institutions for the care of dependents and defectives are there in your city? Which of these belong to the city, which to the state, which to volunteer organizations?

If there is a public employment agency or office in your city, ascertain the number of applicants for work served by it, the number placed in positions, etc., during the last year.

Where are tramps and other homeless people lodged in your city? What is done for them? If you have a municipal lodging house, ascertain how many people it cares for in the course of a month, or year.

From the reports of your department of charities ascertain how many people it gives relief to in the course of a year. What forms of relief are most commonly given?

Are more people cared for by the city's department of charities or by voluntary organizations? What kind of coöperation takes place between the department of charities and such voluntary organizations?

Report on your county almshouse or poor farm: How many cases are sheltered there during the year? How many of them are permanent residents

in the almshouse? What kinds of cases are housed there? The method of treatment? Its cost to the community? Is it well administered?

What state institutions for the care of dependents and defectives has your state? Where are they? How are they governed?

What is the difference between "poverty" and "pauperism"?

What kind of charity work is done by the church which you attend?

Is there a charity organization society in your city? Explain its methods of work.

What measures are taken in your city, by public or private enterprise, to remove causes of poverty and dependency?

What laws control begging in your city? Are they good laws? Why?

Who are some of the "social workers" in your city? What is the nature of their work?

What has been the effect of prohibition upon dependency in your city? Give evidence.

What can you find out about employers' liability laws, workmen's compensation laws, mothers' pension laws, and other forms of "social insurance" in your city and state?

It is said that there are at least 250,000 people in the United States who make their living by crime, and there are many **The criminal class** more who commit crime on occasion. It is said, also, that to support and control this criminal class costs the people of the United States not less than \$600,000,000 per annum, or as much as is expended for the entire educational system of the country.

Crime is the violation of law. The criminal is a member of the community who refuses to coöperate with others in accordance with the law. The conduct of an individual **What crime is** may be wrong and harmful to the community without being criminal; it becomes criminal only when the law actually forbids it. A given act may be a crime in one state and not in another because the laws of the states differ in their definition of crimes. They also differ in the penalties imposed for the same crime.

The methods of dealing with criminals have changed greatly with the progress of civilization, and especially in recent years since the causes of crime have become better understood. In

the earlier methods two ideas were prominent: the infliction of punishment, and the deterrence of others from committing the same offense. The penalties inflicted were there- **Early methods of treating criminals** fore very severe. The death penalty was inflicted not only for taking human life, but also for minor offenses, such as stealing. Even in our own country in colonial times bodily mutilation was not uncommon, such as branding with a hot iron, or cutting off the ears. Prisons were vile and loathsome places.

Humane feelings have caused the abandonment of such treatment. The death penalty still remains for the worst of crimes; but efforts have been made to make even **Rehabilitation of criminals** it more humane. Many believe that it should be entirely abandoned. The eighth amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that cruel and unusual punishments shall not be inflicted. Moreover, a new idea has entered into the matter. It is the same idea that controls the modern treatment of dependents, namely, that of *rehabilitating* the criminal. It is now recognized that crime results in most cases from defective mental or moral conditions in the individual or defective social conditions in the community. Some individuals commit crime merely because it seems to them the easiest way to make a living or to gain some other end; but even such individuals are *morally* diseased. Much crime is due to temporary mental disturbance, as from the use of intoxicants or other drugs. Sometimes it is the act of persons who are actually insane or feeble-minded. Very often it is committed under pressure of poverty.

In view of these facts, while the deliberate violator of law should doubtless be punished, it is even more important that the causes of crime should be removed, and that the criminal should, as often as possible, be restored to a useful and an honest manner of life. The proper treatment of dependents and defectives, and the removal of causes of dependency and

defectiveness, are essential steps toward the lessening of crime.

The county jail and the town "lock-up" are the usual local institutions where persons suspected of having violated the law are detained while awaiting trial in the courts, and also where those convicted of petty misdemeanors are imprisoned for punishment. The jail and the "lock-up" are as notorious as the almshouse (page 403) for unwholesome conditions and mismanagement, though conditions have greatly improved under the influence of an awakened public opinion. They have often been unsanitary in the extreme. Prisoners have often been treated more like cattle than like human beings. Young and old are thrown together, the hardened criminal with the youthful "first offender," and with those merely suspected of crime, many of whom will be proved to be innocent. The result is demoralizing. Our jails have sometimes been said to be "schools of vice and crime."

Two reforms, at least, are needed in local jails. First, they should be made as wholesome as possible, both physically and morally. They should be perfectly sanitary, and the food should at least be clean and nourishing. Arrangements should be made to keep the different classes of inmates separate, especially the hardened and vicious criminals from youthful transgressors and suspects. In the second place, the local jail should be merely a place of detention for those awaiting trial or, after trial, transfer to other institutions. Those found guilty by the courts should be transferred as quickly as possible to institutions where they may receive treatment fitted to their needs.

Of three persons who steal ten dollars, one may be a deliberate thief who prefers to make his living this way; another may be driven by hunger; and the third may be mentally unbalanced. It is obvious that the treatment accorded to each should be determined by these facts rather than by the mere amount of the theft. The first

**The local
jail**

**Needed re-
form of
the jail**

**Fitting the
treatment to
the offender**

doubtless needs punishment; but he should also have treatment designed to change his attitude toward the community and to fit him to make an honest living. The second needs to be relieved of his want and to be given an opportunity for self-support.



A REFORMATORY

The entire effort is to set the young offender on the right road to honest self-support and good citizenship

The third needs hospital treatment. We are only beginning to see that treatment should be made to fit the criminal fully as much as to fit the crime.

Proper treatment for all the various classes of cases cannot well be given in the county jail; nor can the local community as a rule afford to maintain separate institutions for them, as the number in each class is very small in a given community. Large cities do maintain their own prisons, workhouses, and reformatories, in some of

State institutions for delinquents

which rehabilitation of the prisoner is emphasized. But there is need for state institutions to which those convicted in the local courts may be sent. Such institutions exist, although not always adequate to the needs of the state. They include state peni-



WORK SHOP IN A STATE PENITENTIARY OF NEW YORK

Modern penitentiaries keep prisoners employed in occupations that are of use to the state and that help to make them self-supporting.

tentiaries, reform and industrial schools, hospitals for the insane, special schools for the feeble-minded, and others. These institutions have been steadily improving in their efficiency. The greater difficulty seems to be in the local communities, in securing the assignment of offenders to the proper institutions.

Great changes have occurred in recent years in the methods of administering state penitentiaries. Under old conditions convicts were either confined in isolation and idleness or condemned to hard labor. The most rigid and arbitrary discipline

was enforced. Modern penitentiaries keep prisoners employed in occupations that are of use to the state, that are designed to train the prisoner for useful service, and that yield him some compensation that will help to make him self-supporting when he leaves. They also maintain schools for the instruction of prisoners in at least the common branches of knowledge and in vocational subjects. Great care is taken of health. In some cases the prisoners are graded according to their conduct and their ability to assume responsibility, certain privileges and freedom and participation in the administration of the prison being bestowed upon them so long as they show a sense of their responsibility. The period of imprisonment may be shortened as a reward for good conduct.

Administra-
tion of state
prisons

In primitive communities such as early mining camps, where stable government had not been developed, men often organized themselves as "vigilance committees" to apprehend and punish offenders against the law. Speedy punishment was often meted out. Under the conditions that existed such procedure may have been necessary; but it was always dangerous, for it denied a fair trial, and resulted in excessive and cruel punishments. Whether or not such methods were justified under the conditions of frontier life, they are wholly vicious in communities where established courts exist. We hear too frequently of "lynching parties" and similar self-appointed "committees" that "take the law in their own hands," not merely in isolated, backwoods communities, but even occasionally in our large cities. An attempt to excuse such procedure is often made on the ground of failure on the part of the police to apprehend offenders, or of the courts to mete out justice promptly and impartially. But lynching parties are as lawless as the original offenders. They not only indicate, but breed, a disrespect for law. They frequently do great injustice, and are always a menace to our liberties and an infringement of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Denial of
fair trial

The Constitution guarantees justice to persons accused of crime. "In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed . . . and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense" (Amendment VI). "Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted" (Amendment VIII).

**The rights
of accused
persons**

It is the business of the courts to see that justice is done to an accused person as well as to protect the interests of the com-

Police courts

munity against the criminal (see pages 511, 514). Like the other parts of our government, however, our courts do not always work perfectly (see page 50). This has been especially true of the police courts and other minor courts of the local community before which the great majority of offenders are brought for preliminary hearing or, if their offense is a minor one, for trial and sentence. One reason for this is the inferior ability and character of many of the magistrates and justices in these courts as compared with the judges of the higher courts of state and nation. The political corruption and graft that have too commonly characterized city and county government in the United States (see pages 515-516) have invaded even the courts of justice. At times, in some of our cities, the police and police courts have even accorded protection to the criminal classes. At other times, offenders have been treated with undue brutality by police and magistrates. It has been altogether too common for the poor, friendless violator of the law to be harshly dealt with after a scant hearing, even though his offense is slight, while the rich and influential, guilty perhaps of greater offenses, are let off easily or escape penalty entirely.

One weakness in the procedure of administering justice is the long delay that frequently occurs in bringing the offender to trial and in securing conviction or acquittal. This is due **Delays of** in part to the congestion of business in the higher **the law** courts before which many of the cases are finally brought; in part to the success with which lawyers secure delay by some technicality of the law, in the hope that something will happen favorable to their side of the case. These delays are irritating to the community, as well as costly. On the other hand, during the delay the accused person, whether guilty or innocent, may languish in a crowded and demoralizing jail or city prison.

Notwithstanding these and other defects in the administration of justice, improvement has been quite marked in many particulars. Recent reforms in city and county government (see Chapters XXV and XXVI) have reduced **Reforms in** corrupt influences upon police departments and **administra-** police courts. Local prisons have been reformed. New types of courts have been created to deal with special classes of offenders and to make possible more careful consideration of the merits of each case. Sentences are imposed with more thought for the "rehabilitation" of the offender. First offenders and those whose offense seems to be due more to unfortunate surroundings than to criminal tendencies, are often permitted to retain their freedom on *probation*, thus relieving them of the stigma of imprisonment and affording them a fair opportunity to "make good" in the eyes of the community. **tion of justice**

One of the most important of recent reforms is that in the treatment of juvenile offenders. This reform centers in the creation of a *juvenile court*, where the usual pro- **Juvenile** cedure and publicity of a criminal court are avoided, **courts** and where the judge takes the attitude of a father or friend toward the accused. While awaiting trial the youthful offender is sent, not to jail with older prisoners, but to a detention home where he is accorded the best of care. Each case is carefully

investigated to discover the cause of the trouble and to arrive at a wise conclusion as to the treatment to be given. Many of the young offenders are released on *parole* under the supervision



A JUVENILE COURT

This is a scene in the best-known juvenile court in the United States—that of Denver, Colo. Judge Ben Lindsay is conducting the court.

of a *probation officer* to whom they must report at regular intervals. In the case of serious offenses, or of repeated wrongdoing, or of violation of parole, offenders are sent to reform or industrial schools. The entire effort is to set the young offender on the road to honest self-support and good citizenship.

Make a study of methods of punishment in colonial times.

Should capital punishment be abolished?

Compare the conditions in your county jail, or your city prison, with those described on page 412.

Is it desirable that there should be different definitions of crime in different states, and different penalties for the same crime?

What is meant by making punishment fit the criminal as well as the crime?

What state institutions for the care of delinquents has your state? Where are they? How are they governed?

What is the method of treating prisoners in your state penitentiary? Is it a good method? Why?

Investigate and report on the work of Thomas Mott Osborn in prison reform.

What is meant by an "indeterminate sentence"? What is its purpose?

Why are lynching parties a menace to the community?

Why should a criminal have justice accorded to him?

What is the purpose of trial by jury? Is it easy to get an "impartial jury" in your community? Why should a trial be conducted in the state and district where the crime was committed?

What is meant by "compulsory process" for obtaining witnesses?

What is bail? How is it obtained? How does it protect the accused? How does it protect the community?

Make a report on police or magistrates' courts in your city. How are police magistrates chosen? Is it a good method? Why?

Is there any less reason for having good justices in the minor courts than in the higher courts?

What instances can you give of delays in administering justice by the courts? Why are such delays costly?

What efforts are made in your community to "rehabilitate" offenders against the law?

Report on the methods used in juvenile courts and of dealing with juvenile offenders after trial, especially in your own city.

READINGS

Annual reports of your city government, especially of the police department and the department of charities.

Reports of state board of charities and of administrative boards of state institutions. Reports of your local Charity Organization Society.

Publications of the Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor. Send for list from which to select. Two valuable publications of this Bureau are:

Bureau Publication No. 32, "Juvenile Delinquency in Rural New York."

Bureau Publication No. 60, "Standards of Child Welfare." This contains among other valuable material, discussions of child labor and legislation relating to it, of the care of dependent and defective children, and of juvenile delinquency.

In *Lessons in Community and National Life*:

Series A: Lesson 5, The human resources of a community.

Lesson 28, The worker in our society.

Series C: Lesson 8, Preventing waste of human beings.

Lesson 20, The family and social control.

Lesson 26, Charity in the community.

Lesson 30, Social insurance.

The following are a few good books relating to the topics of this chapter:

Burch, H. R., and Patterson, S. H., *American Social Problems*, chaps. xvi-xx (Macmillan).

Henderson, C. R., *Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents*.

Warner, A. G., *American Charities*.

Devine, E. T., *Principles of Relief*.

Addams, Jane, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, and *The House on Henry Street*.

Ellwood, C. A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*.

Beard, Charles A., *American City Government*, chap. vi, "Guarding the City."

CHAPTER XXIII

TEAM WORK IN TAXATION

PEOPLE have never liked to pay taxes. Their repugnance to it is largely a survival of the times when an autocratic ruling class imposed taxes upon the people for its own selfish purposes. Struggling for the bare necessities of life, the people had to pay the bills of the ruling class who lived in luxury. The long struggle for liberty in England and in the English colonies was a struggle against the power of rulers to impose taxes without the consent of the people. The habit of mind with respect to taxation, formed under such conditions, has to a considerable extent persisted into the present, when conditions are very different.

**The dislike
of the
people for
taxation**

The change to government "of the people, by the people, for the people" should put the paying of taxes in a very different light. We decide upon a service we want performed for us, we provide the governing machinery to perform the service, and the service must be paid for. We do not object to paying for having our house built, our food provided, our clothes made, and our goods hauled. Why should we object to paying for the service of schools, roads, protection of health and property, the defense of our liberties? Such objection seems especially unreasonable when we consider that the value of the service rendered by the government is, as a rule, far in excess of what it costs the individual citizen.

**What taxation means in
a democracy**

In Chapter IV we read how Benjamin Franklin secured the services of a man to keep the pavements of the neighborhood

clean "for the sum of sixpence per month to be paid by each house." By this bit of coöperation, each householder was relieved of a burden, and had the benefit not only of having his own pavement cleaned, but also of knowing that those of all his neighbors would be equally clean, and thus of having a pleasanter neighborhood, and the cost was insignificant. This incident illustrates the underlying principle of taxation in a self-governing community. The poorest citizen is made rich in the benefits that he may enjoy, while the cost is made proportional to his ability to pay.

Like the rest of our governing machinery, however, our system of levying, collecting, and paying taxes does not always work perfectly, and there is more or less ground for dissatisfaction with it. In the first place, the people do not always get full value for their taxes. While it is true that the citizen receives, in return for his tax, vastly more than he could purchase privately with the same amount of money, yet, if street improvements are poorly made, or the schools badly administered, or the laws badly enforced, he gets less than he should. It usually costs as much to employ an inefficient street supervisor, or school superintendent, or sheriff, as to employ an efficient one—in fact, in the long run it costs more. Sometimes more persons are employed in government offices than there is any need for, or some of those employed are shirkers, or otherwise inefficient. There is wastefulness in the methods by which appropriations are made for the expenses of government. Sometimes there is "graft," by which public money is diverted to the private uses of officials, contractors, or others.

Such abuses as these are, of course, not faults of the *taxing* system, but they naturally make citizens reluctant to pay taxes. People want to know that their money is spent for the purposes for which it was paid, and that it is used economically and effectively for these purposes. Nothing else will do so

much to remove the dislike of taxation as assurance on these points. As Franklin said with reference to his successful experiment in street cleaning, it "raised a general desire to have all the streets paved, and made the people more willing to submit to a tax for that purpose."

A cause of dissatisfaction

A system of taxation must be *just* if it is to meet with popular approval. It is not easy, nor indeed possible, to devise a system that works with absolute justice in every case, for the assessment of taxes is a complicated process, and reliance must be placed to a considerable extent upon the honesty and conscientiousness of individual citizens. The people are more likely to be satisfied, however, if they see that every reasonable effort is made to secure justice.

Taxation must be just

The first essential in a just system is that *every citizen shall bear his share* of the burden. Therefore the paying of taxes is compulsory by law. It is also just that each citizen shall pay only *in proportion to his ability*. These two principles of taxation are similar to those applied in the selective draft for war service (see page 89). It is in assessing taxes according to ability to pay that one of the principal difficulties appears. But an effort has been made to do this by the following procedure.

It is first necessary to know how much money will be needed by the government. Each year, therefore, the heads of the various branches and departments of the government make an *estimate* for the coming year, based on their knowledge of past expenditures and present and future needs. Such estimate can be made intelligently only when there is an accurate and business-like system of keeping accounts and records, and a well-planned *budget system* (see page 309). Unbusiness-like methods of keeping accounts and the lack of a budget system have been among the chief weaknesses of our governments, equally characteristic of local, state, and

How the amount to be raised is determined

national governments. Efforts are being made to remedy these defects and are described in Chapters XXV, XXVI, XXVII, and XXVIII.



THE CUSTOM HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY

The second thing to be ascertained is the ability of each citizen to pay. In some states a uniform *poll tax* is assessed upon every adult citizen. This is a tax upon the **Taxes on persons, property, and privileges** *person* and usually amounts to about two dollars. Only those are exempt who are incapable of self-support. State and local governments depend principally upon a *general property tax*, for which purpose property is divided into two kinds: *real estate*, which includes land and buildings, and *personal property*, which includes furniture, tools, livestock, money, and valuables of various kinds. In addition to the general property tax there may be taxes upon *incomes* and upon *inheritances*. There are also *license taxes*, such as dog and automobile licenses. Finally there are taxes upon certain

privileges which are bestowed upon the individual by the community and have a money value. Of such a nature is the license tax imposed upon a peddler or upon a person who maintains a market stand on the public street. Such, also, are the taxes placed upon corporations for the privilege of using the public highways for car tracks, water mains, or telephone poles.

It is necessary, therefore, for the government to *assess the value* of the property (or privilege) of each citizen, and it has its organization for this purpose. Each local community (township, county, or city) has one or more *tax assessors*, who endeavor to ascertain by inquiry or inspection the value of each citizen's property. The sum of the individual assessments constitutes the assessment valuation for the town, or county, or city; and the sum of the valuations of these local communities constitutes the valuation for the entire state.

The assessment of values

The third step is to ascertain the *rate* of taxation. This is found by dividing the total amount to be raised by taxation by the total property valuation of the county or state, as the case may be. If the amount to be raised is \$500,000, and the property valuation is \$10,000,000, the rate would be 5 per cent, and the tax is levied against each citizen at this rate. A citizen who owns twice as much property as another, should pay twice as much tax. Each should pay according to his ability.

The rate of taxation

This seems like a simple procedure; but it is very difficult to get a just result. The difficulty lies chiefly in the assessment. It requires a good deal of intelligence to assess property fairly, even with the best of intentions. Assessors are not always competent.

Difficulty of just assessment

Two assessors may differ in their judgment, so that assessments in one part of the community may run at a lower level than in another part. Thus assessments vary in their fairness in different townships of the same county, and in different counties

of the same state. An attempt is made to avoid this by means of county and state *tax equalization boards*, which seek to adjust differences of this sort. But their efforts are only partially successful.

Property owners are themselves, however, more responsible than any one else for the inequities of taxation in our country.

Responsibility of property owners It is a common practice of tax assessors to accept the property owner's own statement of the valuation of his property. In an astonishingly large proportion of cases he gives a valuation far below the real one. Even when the assessor inspects the property, it is easy to conceal from his eyes certain forms of personal property, such as money, stocks and bonds, and jewelry. Land and livestock cannot be concealed; and for this reason farmers are likely to pay a heavier share of taxes than others whose property is in less conspicuous forms. But they may make false valuations.

In one state, where the law requires the assessment of real estate "at its true value in money when sold in the ordinary manner of sale," a study in one township showed that "the average *tax* value of farm land in the open country . . . is \$7.89, while the average *market* value runs around \$20. The 73 largest tax payers give in their farm holdings at values ranging from \$6 to \$20 an acre. Thus the burden of state and county support falls three or four times as heavily on one acre of farm land as on another — on farms lying side by side.

"When we look at suburban farm land the tax values range from \$17 to \$2,220 an acre.

"But the most amazing 'jokes' appear in the values put by their owners on improved town lots. In the same end of the town we found three handsome town properties worth around \$15,000 each; the tax values were \$550, \$4,400, \$4,950. In another neighborhood, two adjoining homes about equal in value were listed at \$500 and \$3,400; one at about 50 per cent and the other at about 8 per cent of the actual value."

With regard to personal property in the same township, "the wealthiest private taxpayer in the township lists household goods and utensils, work-stock, vehicles, money, jewelry . . . at \$216. The next wealthiest private taxpayer covers all these properties with \$105. He's a farmer and well-

to-do, but his household furniture, farm animals, vehicles, implements, and the like, are worth only \$105 — on the tax list.”¹

Such inequalities as these may be found in almost every tax list in any community. One of the strange things about it is that citizens evade taxation who would not think of being dishonest or unfair in a private business transaction. The reason is not easy to understand. Doubtless it is partly due to the feeling that as long as “everybody does it” it is justifiable. Of course this is not true. One taxpayer is reported as saying, “I feel dog-mean whenever I give in my taxes; but I’m doing as well as the rest and a little better than most.”

**Public and
private
honesty**

Dishonest returns by one taxpayer defraud the citizen who is honest, because they place a heavier burden of taxation upon the latter. Moreover, the dishonest taxpayer cheats himself along with others, for the lower the valuation of property, the higher the rate of taxation, or the poorer the service received from the government. “It is good sense and good business for a state to show up with large tax values and low tax rates. It shows a brisk and lively prosperity that is attractive to outside capital and enterprise.”²

**Good sense
and good
business**

To secure fairer taxation and better returns from taxation there is need of improvement in the organization for tax assessment and tax equalization. It is especially important to make it more difficult for the “tax dodger” to evade his responsibility. It would seem, however, that there would be fewer “tax dodgers” if the people once got “the right idea” of what taxation really means in a democracy (see page 52). Great improvement would doubtless result, even under present conditions, if honest citizens would take more interest in the results of assessments

**Intelligence
and publicity
needed**

¹ E. C. Branson, *A Township Tax-List Study*; in *North Carolina Club Year Book*, 1917-1918, pp. 66, 67 (The University of North Carolina Extension Series No. 30).

² E. C. Branson, *A Township Tax-List Study*.

as shown in the tax lists. The writer quoted in the paragraphs above asserts that, next to the Bible, "the most important book in any county is the Tax List, and it is the one book that the people in general know least about."



A CLEVER SMUGGLER'S DEVICE

But not clever enough to fool the customs inspector. The heart of this Bible was cut out to contain opium.

Everybody knows in a vague, general way that something is wrong with our tax system . . . but what everybody does not know is what the facts are in concrete, accurate detail. There is no cure like publicity for wrongs in a democracy. Give the folks the facts, whatever they are, and the folks will do the rest. . . . But at present nobody knows the facts. That is to say, nobody but the tax listers, the registers, and the sheriffs. And they are dumb because their official lives depend on silence.¹

Do people of your acquaintance like to pay taxes? What reasons do they give?

What is the cost of your county government, your city government, and your state government per year? Which is greatest?

For what purposes is most money spent by your city government, your county government, and your state government?

¹ E. C. Branson, *A Township Tax-List Study*.

What is the assessed valuation of property in your town, county, state?

Does the law in your state require that property shall be assessed at its full market value? If not, at what part of its market value?

What is the tax rate in your city? Is it high or low? Reasons why it is high or low?

What are the sources of revenue in your city and state, and the amount raised from each source?

Describe the work of a tax assessor in your city.

Where are taxes paid in your community?

Who has charge of tax collections in your community?

What happens to a citizen in your community who fails to pay his taxes?

What is the difference between "assessing" and "levying" taxes?

Who levies the taxes in your city? county? state?

Explain the statement that "large tax values and low tax rates attract outside capital and enterprise" (page 427).

We have been speaking so far of taxation for the purposes of state and local governments. But Congress also has power "to lay and collect taxes . . . to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States" (Constitution, Art. I, sec. 8, clause 1). State and local governments raise most of their revenues by *direct* taxation upon the property of citizens. The national government, on the other hand, has always relied chiefly upon *indirect* taxation. Congress levies *duties on imports*. These duties are paid in the first instance by the importer. The latter, however, adds the tax to the price of the goods, so that it is paid finally by the consumers and not by the importer. In a similar manner Congress levies *excise taxes*, which are taxes upon products manufactured in this country. The principal excise taxes have been those levied on alcoholic liquors and tobacco. But here again the tax is paid by the consumer in the price which he pays for the liquor or tobacco.

**Taxation by
the national
government**

The chief advantage of indirect taxes is the ease and certainty with which they may be collected by the government. The citizen pays them whenever he buys the articles on which the tax is levied. The retail dealer passes them on to the

wholesaler, and so finally the importer is reimbursed. The government collects the taxes at customs houses at ports of entry, or at the tobacco factories and, formerly, at distilleries. Prohibition has deprived the government of one of its chief sources of revenue. Indirect taxes are also less objectionable to the people, for they are

**Advantages
of indirect
taxation**



MAKING INCOME TAX RETURNS

The last few days before the date set for the completion of these returns is a busy time in the thousands of revenue offices in the country.

seldom conscious of paying them when they buy goods upon which they are levied.

Congress has the power to levy direct as well as indirect taxes, but it has usually avoided direct taxation, partly for the reasons stated above, and partly because the Constitution provides that "no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken;" that is, in proportion to

**Federal
income tax**

population. It has been found difficult in practice to make such apportionment. Various attempts by Congress to levy a direct tax on incomes have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court because it was not so apportioned. The Constitution has now been amended, however, to give Congress the power "to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several



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ALIENS FILING INCOME TAX RETURNS
New York Custom House

states, and without regard to any census or enumeration" (Amendment XVI).

A large revenue is now derived from the national income tax. The law at first exempted from it single persons whose income was less than \$3,000, and married persons whose income was less than \$4,000. As a result of the war, the amount exempted was reduced to \$1,000, for those who are single, and to \$2,000 for those who are married, with an additional exemption for each dependent child. The tax is *progressive*; that is, the larger one's income, the higher *rate* one pays.

In ordinary times of peace, state and local governments together spend much more money than the national government.

War taxes In war time the reverse is true. Enormous sums of money were required for the conduct of the recent war. As a result the rates of import, excise, and income taxes



LABORATORY OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE OFFICE

Examining patent medicines and "near-beer" to determine percentage of alcohol

were greatly increased, and unusual forms of taxation were adopted. A war tax was placed upon many articles of common use, an inheritance tax was imposed similar to that in some of the states, and the *excess profits* of businesses which the war made unusually prosperous were taxed heavily. The effort in every case was to distribute the tax so that every one should do his share, while the burden should rest most heavily upon those who could best bear it.

A large part of the money necessary for war purposes, and

for permanent improvements in time of peace, is raised by borrowing. Governments, whether national, state, or local, borrow money by the sale of *bonds*, the purchase price with interest being returned to the purchaser ^{Government loans} after a stated period of years. The national government borrowed more than 22 billion dollars during the war by the sale of "liberty bonds," and an additional large sum by the sale of "war savings stamps" (see page 318). These loans made by the people are ultimately paid off with funds raised by taxation. The people to-day advance money to the government, which the people of to-morrow pay back by taxation. This is justifiable because the war was fought for the benefit of future generations as well as of the people to-day. For the same reason, the cost of permanent improvements, such as roads and public buildings, is distributed over a period of years.

What is the full meaning of Article I, section 8, clause 1, and section 7, clause 1, of the Constitution?

Investigate the loss to the nation of revenue as a result of the prohibition of the liquor traffic.

What compensating financial gains result to the nation through prohibition of the liquor traffic?

Why is an income tax a good form of taxation? Why should it be "progressive" (page 431)?

What is the justice of an inheritance tax? Of a tax on excess profits?

Upon what articles do you pay an import duty?

Why is government justified in compelling the payment of taxes?

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CHAPTER XXIV

HOW WE GOVERN OURSELVES

EARLY in our study we considered the question *why* we have government (Chapter IV). We saw then that it is the people's organization for team work in protecting and promoting their common interests. Succeeding chapters contain evidence that this is so, although they also show that the results achieved by government are by no means perfect. Now we are to consider *how* we have organized to get team work and how well our organization is suited to its purpose.

In so far as government performs service for us, it must have an organization for that purpose, with competent leadership; and if it is not to interfere unduly with freedom of action or personal liberty, the people must have an organization by which to maintain control over it. Thus there must be an organization to insure efficient *service*, and there must be an organization to insure democracy, or *popular control*. If both organizations are effective, we have an *efficient democracy*, toward which we have been striving through all our history, but which we have not yet completely attained.

A government may be efficient in performing service for the people without being democratic. In fact, it may be easier to get efficient service under an autocratic government. Germany before the war illustrated this. But we believe that a government may be both efficient and democratic. This depends upon competent leadership and popular control.

In the remaining pages of this book we shall consider both the organization of our government for service and that for popular control. In this chapter we shall examine some of the methods by which we seek to control government, or to be *self-governing*.

The people of a community may govern themselves by direct action or indirectly through representatives. When English colonists settled New England, geographical conditions and other reasons led them to form small, compact communities, in which it was easy to assemble frequently at the meetinghouse to discuss matters of community concern and to agree upon rules, or laws, to regulate them. This local government by "town meeting" has persisted in many New England "towns," or "townships," to the present day.

This direct action of the people in the New England town is for the purpose of *making* the laws only. When it comes to the enforcement of these laws, it is necessary to delegate the authority to some one. The town meeting could make a law against permitting hogs to run at large, but it chose some one, a "hog reeve," to see that the law was observed. When the community is large it is found more convenient to choose representatives also to make the laws. Thus each Massachusetts town had its representative in the law-making assembly of the colony as a whole. This representative system of government now prevails in our cities, counties, states, and nation.

Even in the larger communities, however, such as cities, states, and the nation itself, the people have sought to retain more or less direct control over law making. In the first place, the "fundamental law" of the states and nation found in their constitutions, which determine what the form and powers of government shall be, has been adopted by more direct action of the people than most other laws. The preamble to the federal Constitution asserts that "We, the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." Neither state nor national constitutions can be altered except by special action by the people themselves, either by direct vote at the polls or by conventions of representatives chosen especially for the purpose.

Direct self-government

Representative self-government

Direct self-government through constitutions

It has long been the practice in many communities to submit important local questions to popular vote for decision, such as the question of issuing bonds for public improvements, or of licensing saloons. Within recent years in a number of states the people have gained direct control over law making in regard to any subject whatever,

**Direct law
making:
initiative and
referendum**



"EQUAL SUFFRAGE"

A man and his wife casting their ballots. Note the voting booths in the background.

both in local and state affairs, by means of the "initiative and referendum." The "initiative" is the right of the voters themselves to "initiate," or propose, legislation. This is done by means of a petition signed by a specified number of voters. The legislature may then act upon the proposed law; but if it does not do so, the law is submitted to the people for their vote at

the next election. On the other hand, if the legislature passes a law that is objectionable to some of the voters a petition signed by a specified number of voters requires the law to be *referred* to the people for their approval or rejection. This is the "referendum."

Of the 21 states that had adopted the initiative and referendum (to 1917), only four were east of the Mississippi River **Democracy of the West** (Maine, Maryland, Michigan, and Ohio).¹ The movement to increase popular control over government has always been stronger in the West, as we shall see in other connections.

For the most part, however, our laws are made by our representatives, over whom we exercise more or less control. Some of the more important means by which this control is exercised are described in following chapters; but first of all we exercise control by *choosing* our representatives at frequent intervals. Let us inquire to what extent the people have a voice in this choice.

It is not true that all citizens have a voice in choosing their representatives, though it is more nearly true to-day than ever before. The right to a voice in this choice is called **The suffrage** the *suffrage*. It is bestowed only on those citizens who possess certain qualifications. The constitution of each state fixes the qualifications for those who live within the boundaries of the state, the national government having exercised no control over the matter except in two cases. After the Civil War, the Fifteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution was adopted, providing that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude;" and the recently adopted Nineteenth Amendment bestows the suffrage upon all women of the nation who possess the other necessary qualifications.

¹ "The Initiative and Referendum," Bulletin No. 6, submitted to the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts (1917) by the Commission to Compile Information and Data, p. 10.

The founders of our nation were far from democratic as we now understand the term. They believed that the government should be controlled by the educated and prop- **Early distrust of the people** ertied class, which was small. The lack of confidence in the people was shown in various ways, but among others by the restriction of the suffrage. This was true even in the New England town meeting, which we are in the habit of considering as the most democratic of institutions. For instance, no one could vote in colonial times who did not belong to the church. Religious qualifications were soon abolished, however, and property qualifications have almost completely disappeared, though in some states voters must be tax-payers.

To-day no citizen may vote in any state who has not reached the age of 21. The reason for this is clear and just, but it excludes from the suffrage about 30,000,000 young **Qualifications for the suffrage** citizens. Persons of unsound mind are denied the suffrage, and citizens may be disqualified by crime.

In some states illiterates are denied the right to vote. In most states foreigners must have completed the process of naturalization before they may vote. All states require residence in the state and in their local districts for specified periods prior to voting. But with these exceptions, the suffrage is now possessed by practically all citizens who are 21 years of age or over.

Why may an autocratic government perform more efficient service than democratic government?

What is a "benevolent despotism"? What is a "paternalistic government"?

Why do we consider an imperfect democracy better than an efficient autocracy?

Do you have direct or representative self-government in your community? Explain.

What voluntary organizations are there in your community (such as business corporations, churches, clubs, etc.) that have direct self-government? Representative self-government?

Does your community have representatives in state and national governments? What are their names? How long will they be your representatives?

Does your city or state have the initiative and referendum? If so, explain in detail how they are used. Give instances of the use of either.

From your state constitution ascertain the exact qualifications for the suffrage in your state.

Report on the history of woman suffrage in your state.

Do you think any of the restrictions on the suffrage now existing in your state should be removed? Why?

Do you think any further restrictions should be placed on the suffrage in your state? Why?

One of the important principles upon which democratic government rests is that the will of the majority should control. **Majority and minority rule** It is the only arrangement that can be made with justice. It often happens, however, that a minority, and sometimes a very small minority, gains control. It also sometimes happens that the party in power in government, whether it is a majority or a minority, governs without full consideration for the interests of other parties or of the community as a whole. We shall try to get some idea of how this happens, and also of methods proposed to prevent it; for as long as it happens we cannot lay claim to a full measure of democracy in our government.

If the pupils of your class or school are voting on the kind of entertainment to be given, and a difference of opinion arises, can you think of a fairer way to decide than by a vote of the majority?

If the majority decides the question, should the minority yield gracefully to the decision? Why?

After the majority plan has been adopted, has the minority any rights in the matter?

Is the majority always right in its decisions? Give illustrations to prove your answer.

If your community takes a vote on the question of street improvement, or of granting a franchise, is it right that the majority should decide?

If the majority rules in such a case, is it right that the citizens of the minority party should be taxed for the improvement as well as those of the majority? Why?

If your class president is elected by a majority of the class, or your city mayor by a majority of the voters of the city, to what extent is it the duty of this officer to consider the interests of the minority which voted against him?

Our government is a government by political parties; that is, political parties control the government. Voters acting independently of one another cannot exercise much **Political influence**. There must be team work in political **parties** matters as in everything else. A political party consists of those voters who think alike and act together on questions of government policy, or in electing their representatives in government. It is a voluntary organization, entirely outside of the government and not recognized in our constitutions, but exercising very great influence upon government.

In his Farewell Address to the people, Washington said:

The spirit [of party] unfortunately is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy. The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissensions . . . is a frightful despotism. . . . The common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

As long as people differ on questions of public policy there are bound to be political parties, as Washington knew, and they have always played an important part in our **Mischiefs of the party spirit** government. But necessary and useful as parties have been, the events of our history have shown that Washington's warning was exceedingly wise, the "party spirit" having often proved the "worst enemy" of our democratic government.

When some great question is before the country, like that of the adoption of the Constitution, or that of slavery, the people are usually divided into two great parties. The party that marshals the greater number of votes constitutes a majority and gains control of the **Value of minority opposition** government. The defeated minority usually accepts its defeat in a sportsmanlike manner and loyally supports the

government. Nevertheless it does not cease its opposition to the principles of the party in power. One of the chief values of the party system is that it keeps important questions in constant discussion. The opposition of the minority serves as a check upon the acts of the party in power, which is anxious to avoid arousing too much opposition. This is one means of control over the government enjoyed by the minority party. A defeated minority at one election may become a victorious majority at the next. The fact that a party is in the minority does not necessarily mean that it is in the wrong.

Minorities, however, sometimes win elections. If more than two parties are contesting the election, which often happens, that one wins which has the greatest number of votes, though this number may be less than the combined votes of the opposing parties. No other arrangement seems possible. President Wilson won his first election by a minority vote, the opposition being divided between Taft and Roosevelt.

A minority may win through better team work. There are always some voters who, through indifference or other causes, do not cast their vote. This is especially likely to happen in local elections, in which there is almost never as large a vote cast as in the same district at a general election. It is one of the chief objects of a party organization to keep its members informed and interested and to see that they cast their votes. The party that is best organized for these purposes is very likely to win over its opponents even though the latter are more numerous.

The organization of the national political parties is very thorough. Each party has a managing committee in every local district, the local organizations are united in a state organization, and the several state organizations in a national organization. The shrewdest men the party affords are made chairmen of committees and

How minorities may gain control

Organization of parties and its control

chosen for other positions of leadership. Such organization is necessary and proper; it is only common-sense team work. But unfortunately it has frequently fallen into the hands of designing men who have used it to promote private interests rather than those of the public. A political "boss," who is at the head of an inner "ring" of politicians, often decides who shall be nominated for the various offices of government, leaving no choice to the voters themselves. This makes of our government a real autocracy, and the worst kind of an autocracy, because the autocrat (the "boss") acts in secret, and is in no way responsible to the people. It is the "frightful despotism" of which Washington warned his countrymen (p. 441).

Political "bosses" are often allied with powerful business interests which seek legislation and governmental administration favorable to themselves. This has given rise to the charge sometimes made that our government is a "plutocracy," a government of the people by a small wealthy class. It is the feeling that this is so that has caused much of the social unrest at the present time.

Government
in the interest
of all classes

Unquestionably selfish groups representing great wealth have often exerted undue influence in governmental affairs without regard for the public welfare. We have seen how the public lands and the nation's natural resources have in some cases fallen into the hands of individuals and corporations to the injury of the nation and of those who want to use them for productive purposes (see p. 373). On the other hand, men who have been successful in managing their private business affairs may also be influential in managing public affairs without necessarily having unworthy motives. Nevertheless, when government falls under the control of *any* particular class or group, whether it represents wealth, or labor, or any other interest, if it has not due regard for all classes, and if it denies to the members of other groups the voice in government to which they are entitled, it establishes a despotism and overthrows democracy.

Why do the people submit to "boss rule"? In the first place, they do not always submit to it. Occasionally, when the "bosses" go to unusual extremes, the people give way to "fits of public rage," to use the words of former Senator Elihu Root, "in which the people rouse up and tear down the political leader, first of one party and then of the other party." It is thus possible for the people to escape the despotism of "boss rule." But two things seem to be necessary to bring it about: first, the people must be sufficiently *interested* in the management of their public affairs; and, second, they require *leadership*. It takes close attention to public affairs to enable a citizen to make wise decisions for himself; and the average citizen looks around for guidance. The absence of *responsible* leadership gives the irresponsible "boss" his chance.

One difficulty encountered by the citizen who wishes to vote intelligently is the large number of persons to be chosen. There have been cases where the names of several hundred candidates appeared on the same ticket. In a small community a voter may know personally all the candidates, but in larger communities this is not so. It was once thought that to make as many of the government offices as possible elective was a step in the direction of democracy, and that it gave the people direct control over them. But it has not worked out this way. It is impossible for the average voter to choose wisely among so many candidates, and he therefore falls an easy prey to "boss rule." The *short ballot* is now quite generally advocated to meet this situation. By this plan the number of officers to be elected is reduced, and includes only those who are responsible for determining the policies of government, such as members of legislatures and the chief executive officers. These few important officers and representatives are then made responsible for the appointment of all other subordinate officers whose business is to carry policies into effect. This

really gives the people better control over their government by fixing responsibility in a few places, and is therefore no less democratic than the older plan.

Do you have a long ballot or a short ballot in your city? In your state?

How many offices in your city government are elective? How many of the men holding these offices do you know? Consult your parents as to the number of these officers they know personally. How many does your teacher know?

At the next election get a copy of the ballot used in your community and ascertain the number of candidates for all offices, including local, state, and national.

What national political parties exist at present?

Are the voters of your local community divided into parties on local questions? If so, what are some of these questions?

Investigate the organization in your county and city of the political party of which your father is a member. Who is chairman of its local committee?

Investigate the work that a party organization does in your community during an election campaign; on election day; in the time between elections.

Why is secret control over government dangerous?

What is meant by "social unrest" (p. 443)?

Are all men of your acquaintance equally capable of directing the affairs of government in office? Why?

What is meant by "responsible" and "irresponsible" leadership (p. 444)?

What does it mean to say that a leader must be "responsive as well as responsible" to the people?

Various schemes have been adopted to insure to every voter a free expression of his choice for representatives, and to the majority their right to govern. One of these is **The secret ballot**. At the polls each voter enters a booth by himself to mark his ballot, or to operate the voting machine, and need have no fear that a possible "watcher" may cause him to lose his job or otherwise suffer for voting as he thinks best. The secret ballot also reduces the likelihood that votes will be bought, for there is no way of telling whether the man who sells his vote will vote as he has agreed; and the man who sells his vote is not to be trusted. The only voters

who are embarrassed by the secret ballot are those who cannot read their ballots. These have to seek help, and are thus open to influence by agents of the "boss."

Another device to insure to the voter a voice in his government is the *direct primary* for the nomination of candidates for office. By the older method candidates were nominated by party conventions; but under "boss rule" they were in reality determined upon in advance by the "boss," the nomination by the convention being largely a matter of form, the delegates voting according to instructions. The ordinary voter had nothing to say about it. Under the direct primary plan any voter possessing the necessary qualifications for holding office may become a candidate by merely securing the signatures of a specified number of voters to a petition. Then a *primary election* is held at which the voters of each party go to the polls to express their choice for one among the several candidates who have been announced for each office to be filled. The candidates receiving the highest number of votes become the nominees of their party. The direct primary is now used quite widely throughout the United States and is believed to be a great improvement over the old method, though it does not always work as well as was expected of it. The truth is that *any* organization is open to abuse by clever people who wish to abuse it, and *no* political organization will work effectively unless the voters are intelligent and eternally vigilant.

The President and Vice-President of the United States are still nominated by national party conventions. But in some states there are *presidential preferential primaries*. These are direct primaries at which the voters express their *preference* for the presidential candidates. This is intended to be a guide to the nominating convention, but there is nothing to compel the convention to follow the guidance.

Democratic government demands certain rights for minorities. We have seen how a minority party may exercise a wholesome

check upon the party in power by constant opposition. We never have a Congress or a state legislature in which the members are all of one party. This is a good thing, for it results in discussion and debate in the legislative body by which the people are kept informed. **The right of minorities**

The initiative and referendum (p. 437) are also weapons in the hands of a minority; for, as we have seen, a small number of voters may compel the legislature to consider, or reconsider, any piece of legislation, or to submit it to the people for their decision. Minority parties may thus keep prominently before the people measures that have been adversely acted upon by the majority.

Another device that has been introduced in some states and local communities is the *recall* of officials. By means of this a specified number of voters may demand that an officer of the government who is displeasing to them be brought before the people for their vote as to whether he shall be removed from office or not. A small minority may thus call a public official to account. **The recall**

One plan strongly advocated by some students of government to insure to minorities an actual voice in government is that of *proportional representation* of parties in legislative bodies. By this plan each party would be represented in proportion to its strength. If two parties were of about equal strength they would be represented equally; if one were twice as strong as another, it would have twice the representation. The plan is actually in use in very few localities. In Illinois, however, the *cumulative-vote* plan is in use, by which each voter is permitted as many votes as there are places to be filled, and to distribute these votes among the several candidates or to cast them all for one candidate. Thus, if there are three representatives to be elected from his district, he may give one vote to each of the three, or he may give three votes to one of them. A minority may thus, by concentrating all of their votes upon a single candidate, be reasonably sure of representation. But it requires good team work to get this result. **Proportional representation of parties**

Representation in our government is on a *territorial, or geographical, basis*; that is, each representative represents the people in a given territory or district. Thus in many counties the board of supervisors is composed of representatives from each township, the members of state legislatures represent districts of the state, members of the United States House of Representatives represent congressional districts in each state, and United States Senators represent states.

**Different
bases of rep-
resentation**

In each district under our present system, however, the representatives are *elected by a majority*, though they are supposed to *represent all* the people when elected. If proportional representation were adopted, it would be necessary to increase the number of representatives from each district, in order that each party should have at least one. Then we should have *representation by parties* as well as by districts.

We now hear a good deal about *soviet government* in Russia. The "soviet" is a representative body with a different basis of representation than either of the above. Soviet government is government by "workers" and each representative represents a *trade or occupation*. It is as if, in our country, all the farmers in a county, as a group, should elect their representatives to the board of county supervisors, all the carpenters their representatives, all the merchants theirs, and so on. It would be, as it is in Russia, *representation by occupational groups*, instead of by geographical districts as now. It would differ from proportional representation by parties, as described above, because each political party is made up of representatives of all occupations. Only in a few cases have political parties in our country tended to become identified with occupational interests, as in the case of "labor parties," and the old "greenback party," which was largely made up of farmers.

At election time visit the nearest polling place, observe the procedure of voting, and report. Get sample copies of the ballot used.

Who are the different persons on duty at the polling place, and what are their duties?

Why and how do voters "register" before an election?

Describe a primary election in your community.

How do discussion and debate protect the rights of minorities?

Is the "recall" used in your state? If so, what instances of its exercise do you know, and what were the circumstances?

What advantages and disadvantages can you see in representation by occupational groups as compared with representation by geographical districts?

READINGS

In Foerster and Pierson's *American Ideals*:

- Contributions of the West to democracy (F. J. Turner), pp. 72-97.
- A charter of democracy (Theodore Roosevelt), pp. 114-132.
- Can democracy be organized? (E. A. Alderman), pp. 158-174.
- The sovereignty of the people (A. de Tocqueville), pp. 257-260.
- General tendency of the laws (A. de Tocqueville), pp. 261-266.
- The activity of the body politic (A. de Tocqueville), pp. 267-272.
- The German and the American temper (Kuno Francke), pp. 273-281.
- The "Divine Average" (G. Lowes Dickinson), pp. 282-284.

In Long's *American Patriotic Prose*:

- Farewell Address (Washington), pp. 105-123.
- The independent in politics (James Russell Lowell), pp. 241-243.
- Liberty is responsibility, not license (McKinley), pp. 254-255.
- The right of the people to rule (Roosevelt), pp. 272-273.

In *Lessons in Community and National Life*:

- Series A: Lesson 16, Caste in India.
- Lesson 19, Active citizenship.
- Series C: Lesson 17, Custom as a basis for law.
- Lesson 18, Cooperation through law.

Hart, A. B., *Actual Government*, chaps. iv, v.

Ashley, R. L., *The New Civics* (Macmillan), chaps. vi, vii.

Reed, T. H., *Form and Functions of American Government*, chaps. v-viii (World Book Co.).

Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth*, vol. II, Part iii, The party system; and Part v, chaps. xcvi-xcix, The faults and strength of democracy.

Encyclopedia of American Government, under the several topics referred to in this chapter.

Teachable Facts about Bolshevism and Sovietism, Institute for Public Service, 51 Chambers St., New York City.

CHAPTER XXV

TOWNSHIP AND COUNTY GOVERNMENTS

WHEN the first colonists of America undertook to organize governments for their settlements, they naturally adopted forms with which they had been familiar in England. There were two such forms which met their needs, the *town*, or *township*, and the *county*. These have remained to this day the chief units of our local government.

Geographical conditions were such in New England that the colonists settled in compact communities. There the township, or town, was adopted as the more convenient unit. It included a central village and the neighboring farming region with irregular boundaries. It is still the unit of local government throughout rural New England, and in many communities that have grown to the proportion of cities. It has been said of the New England town government that it is "the fullest and most perfect example of local self-government either then or now in existence. . . . The state might fall to pieces, and the town would still supply all the wants of every-day government."¹

The chief feature of the New England town government is the *town meeting*, which is an assemblage of the voters of the town at the town hall (formerly often at the church). It is called by the *selectmen* (see below) by means of a *warrant* which contains a statement of the business to be transacted. Reports are made by the town officers, officers for the new year are elected, by-laws (town laws)

¹ Henry Cabot Lodge, *A Short History of the English Colonies in America*, p. 414.

are enacted, taxes are levied and appropriations made for the various purposes of government. It is direct self-government (see page 436).

Among the officers elected by the town meeting are the selectmen, varying in number from three to nine, who have charge of the town property and are responsible to **New England** the town meeting for the conduct of the town's **town officers** business; a town clerk, who keeps the town records, issues marriage licenses, registers births and deaths, and performs other clerical services; an assessor of taxes; a treasurer; several constables, who have police duties, execute warrants issued by the selectmen and by the justices of the peace, and sometimes act as tax collectors; school committeemen; overseers of the poor; members of the board of health and of other boards for public service. In some of the New England states the justices of the peace, who are not strictly town officers (see page 512), are elected by the town meeting.

There is here given a copy of portions of a warrant for a special town meeting. This warrant is very brief **The town** as compared with those issued for a regular annual **warrant** meeting; but it gives an idea of the variety of business transacted.

TOWN WARRANT

Middlesex, ss.

To Henry Atchison one of the constables of the Town of Framingham or to either of them, *Greeting:*

In the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, you are hereby required to notify and warn the inhabitants of the Town of Framingham, qualified to vote in elections, and Town affairs, to meet at the Casino in said Framingham, on

Wednesday, July 16th, A.D. 1919

at eight o'clock P.M. Then and there to act on the following articles, viz : Article 1. To hear and act upon such reports of any of the officers of the Town or Committees of the Town as may be then and there presented, appropriate money to carry out the recommendations thereof, or any of them,

pass any vote or take any action relative to any of said reports, or any part thereof.

Art. 2. To hear and act on the report of the Committee directed to investigate school needs in the Apple Street District. . . .

Art. 3. To see if the Town will vote to instruct the Town Treasurer to place to the credit of the Park Department . . . for the care and maintenance of parks and playgrounds, any and all sums of money which may be received by him . . . on account of said Department, and authorize the use of the same by said Department. . . .

Art. 4. To see if the Town will grant or appropriate a sum not exceeding twenty-five hundred dollars (\$2500) for the purchase by the tree warden of a new tree spraying machine. . . .

Art. 5. To see if the Town will authorize its Board of Park Commissioners to sell and dispose of two of the unused schoolhouses placed in charge of the Park Commission some years ago. . . .

Art. 6. To see if the Town will appropriate the sum of fifty-five hundred dollars . . . to be expended under the direction of the following committee . . . for the purpose of selecting a site, location and erection of a temporary memorial tablet, and cause to be inscribed thereon the names of the Framingham soldiers, sailors, marines . . . and nurses, who gave their lives in the late war. . . .

Art. 8. To see if the Town will vote to install and maintain incandescent electric lights on following named streets. . . .

Art. 9. To see if the Town will vote to raise the pay of its Police Officers fifty cents a day. . . .

Art. 10. To see if the Town will vote to appoint and instruct a committee to petition the County Commissioners to relocate Marble Street. . . .

Art. 12. To see if the Town will vote to appropriate a sum . . . to reimburse Wellington H. Pratt for expenses incurred in the construction of a sewer and laying of water pipes. . . .

And you are directed to serve this warrant by posting an attested copy of the same at each of the Meeting Houses and Post-Offices in said Town, eight days at least, including two Sundays, before the time of holding said meeting.

Hereof fail not, and make due return of this warrant, with your doing thereon, to the Town Clerk at the time and place of said meeting.

Given under our hands this first day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

(Signed by the Selectmen)

It has been said that

The thing most characteristic of a town meeting is the lively and educating debate; for attendants on town meeting from year to year become skilled in parliamentary law, and effective in sharp, quick argument on their feet. Children and others than voters are allowed to be present as spectators. In every such assembly, four or five men ordinarily do half the talking; but anybody has a right to make suggestions or propose amendments, and occasionally even a non-voter is allowed to make a statement; and the debate is often very effective."¹

**The value
of the town
meeting**

Another writer says,

The retiring officers present their reports, which in the larger towns have been previously printed and distributed. Any citizen present is free to express any criticism or ask any question. No better method of checking the conduct of public officers has ever been discovered than this system of report in open meeting. Keen questions and sharp comment rip open and expose to view the true inwardness of the officers' behavior.

At its best, the New England town meeting has never been equalled as a mechanism for local government. No mere representative system can give the opportunity for real participation in government which a town meeting affords. Even the small boys who come to enjoy the fun from the gallery are taught that government is a living reality. By grappling first-hand with their own small local problems, men are trained to take part wisely in the bigger affairs of state and nation.²

Changing conditions, however, have tended to bring about changes in town government. In the early days the town meeting was a matter of great interest, and everybody attended, including the women and children. Many of the towns have now acquired large populations, the people are no longer acquainted with one another, and interest has declined. A few years ago it was reported that

**Weakening of
government
by town
meeting**

In Brookline, Mass., with about 2500 votes cast, there are from 300 to 500 at the business sessions. In Hyde Park, Mass., with 2500 voters . . .

¹ Albert Bushnell Hart, *Actual Government*, p. 171.

² Thomas H. Reed, *Form and Functions of American Government*, pp. 218, 220.

from 500 to 600 attended the annual appropriation meeting. In Leominster, Mass., with 1400 voting, the normal attendance is about 800.

The same writer says that

In many places the town meeting is being undermined by the caucus, held beforehand, to nominate candidates for office. Here a small group of persons not only narrow the choice for officers, but often arrange the other business to be determined at the town meeting. Sometimes everything is 'cut and dried' before it comes up for popular discussion; and that discussion thus becomes a mere formality.¹

This illustrates what was said in the preceding chapter (p. 444) about the necessity for leadership and the tendency of the

Influences leading to decline people, under certain conditions, to accept self-appointed leaders, sometimes not of the best, outside of the government. Conditions in large towns are likely to favor this. The questions that have to be acted upon are more complicated than formerly, and often involve the expenditure of large sums of money. The candidates for office are not known to many of the voters. There may be a considerable number of uneducated people in the town, and perhaps a foreign population that is unfamiliar with the English language and with American methods. These things make intelligent self-government by direct methods difficult.

Various means have been adopted to meet these changing conditions. One of these is the creation of a *finance committee*, before which are brought for consideration questions involving the expenditure of money. This committee holds hearings, at which citizens may present arguments for and against proposed measures. Thus important matters are sifted out by the committee which then reports to the town meeting. The town meeting usually votes in accordance with the recommendations of the committee. While this arrangement tends to secure careful consideration of financial measures, and to result in wise deci-

The finance committee a means of better service

¹ J. A. Fairlie, *Local Government in Counties, Towns and Villages*, pp. 148, 155.

sions, provided the committee is composed of reliable men, it tends, on the other hand, to prevent discussion in open town meeting, to make the vote in the latter a mere matter of form, and to destroy interest in it. In other words, while it tends to better *service*, it reduces the value of the town meeting as a means of *education for democracy*.



ADVERTISING THE BUDGET EXHIBIT IN NEW YORK CITY

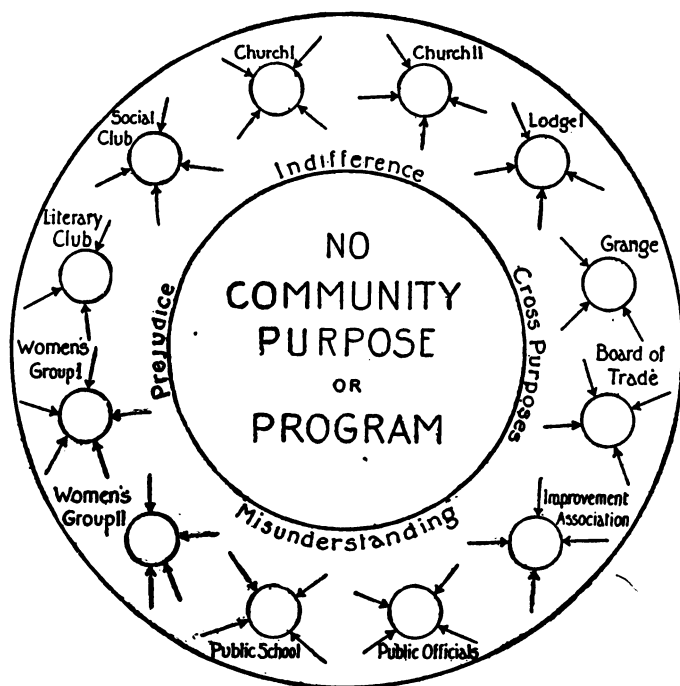
Another arrangement that has been adopted in a good many towns is the *town planning board*. This is a committee which, after careful study of existing conditions and tendencies of community growth, formulates a definite **Town planning plan** for the promotion of the community's interests during a period of years. It considers such matters as the laying out of new roads and streets and the improvement of old ones, the location of parks, playgrounds, and public buildings, the construction of sewers, water works, and lighting systems, the style of architecture for public buildings, the enactment of

housing laws. It may also plan with reference to the improvement of the educational system, the promotion of public health, and for social needs generally.

The town planning board is usually composed of trained men, such as engineers, architects, and physicians, and it may call in expert advisers from other communities or from the state government. The advantage of having such a board is that it provides the town with a program of action carefully worked out from the point of view both of continuous community needs and of economy. It affords expert leadership.

As has been said many times in these pages, government is the community's official organization to secure coöperation; but it is effective only to the extent that the people *coöperate*. It is a machine that is valuable as the people *use* it. The weakening of town government, or of any other government, is due largely to a lack of interest and of actual participation by the people. Many people think they have done their share toward good government when they have helped elect their officers and have paid their taxes. But when they take this view they are likely to lose both interest in their government and control over it.

In some New England towns the decline in popular control of town government has been largely counterbalanced by *community organization for voluntary coöperation*. **Voluntary community organization** Much community service is, and probably always will be, performed by private enterprise and initiative rather than by government (see p. 345); and the efficiency of government depends to a considerable extent upon the efficiency of voluntary enterprise. Government must have the coöperation of the latter, and to some extent work through it. In practically every community there are groups of people organized to coöperate for one purpose or another; but they are often self-centered and act independently of one another,



WHAT ONE COMMUNITY FOUND ¹

Organizations self-centered

if not actually at cross purposes. The situation that exists in many communities is illustrated by the chart above.

In a good many Massachusetts towns community organization has been effected under the leadership of the Community Organization Department of the Extension Service of the State Agricultural College. The organization varies in detail in different communities to meet local needs, but the main features are the following:

**Community
organization
in Massa-
chusetts**

¹ From "Mobilizing a Rural Community," by E. L. Morgan, Extension Bulletin No. 23, Massachusetts Agricultural College.

First: a *community council*, consisting of representatives of the various community interests and organizations including the town officials. This council serves at first as a sort of "steering committee" to bring the various interests together and to plan the organization and the work to be done.

Second: *community meetings*, the first one of which is called by the community council to consider the questions: Is it possible for a community to plan for its future development? Do we care to do it? Is it worth while? How can it be done? The community meeting becomes a sort of *unofficial town meeting*, and is often more largely attended than the official town meeting, partly because it is attended by the women of the community.

Third: a number of *working committees*, appointed as a result of the first community meeting. They may include committees on farm production, conservation, boys' and girls' interests, farm business, community life (education, health, recreation, etc.).

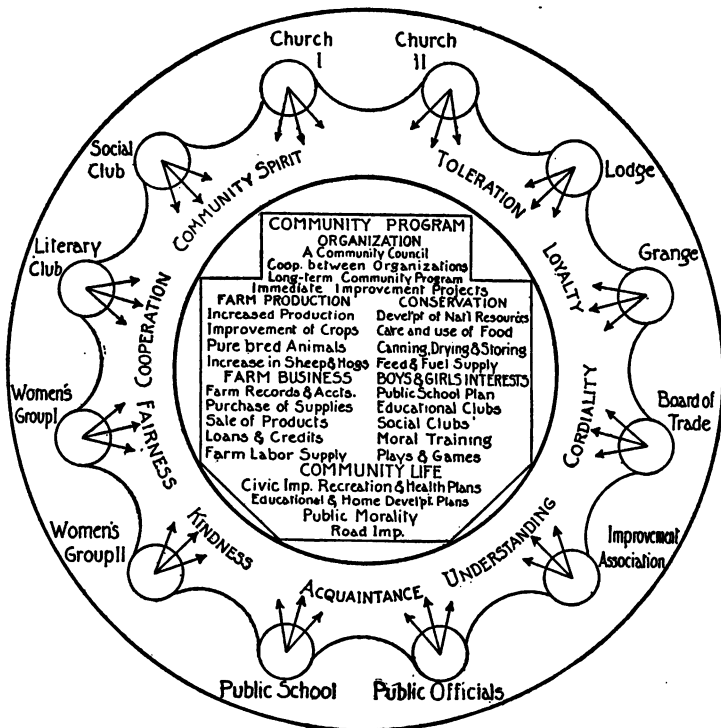
These committees make a study of the conditions and needs of the community in their respective fields, and prepare plans and projects, which are submitted to the community meeting in due time.

Fourth: a *community program*, which has been agreed upon by the community meeting, is supervised by the community council, and is carried out by the various community organizations represented, including the public officials.

The result is an organized community somewhat as suggested by the chart on page 459.

This organization is entirely outside of the official governmental organization. It may be asked why it is necessary to have a "community meeting" when the official town meeting already exists. The answer is that the official town meeting has its work pretty definitely cut out for it. It meets infrequently for a half-day or a day at a time, and its time is occupied by the voters in passing laws, electing officials, levying taxes, making appropriations, and doing other official business. The "community meeting," on the other hand, is attended by non-voters as well as voters, the women take an active part, and the young people are represented. Many matters are discussed that could not properly be taken up in town meeting.

Official and
unofficial
team work



WHAT THIS COMMUNITY NOW HAS¹

A longer term program

A large part of the program of the community organization is carried out by the voluntary agencies of the community. But a great many of its proposals must have the approval of the official town meeting, require appropriations which can only be made by the town meeting, and are finally executed by the public officials of the town. The organization naturally stimulates interest in the official government, and brings to its support all the organized agencies of the community working together.

¹ Adapted from "Mobilizing a Rural Community."

The township is found as a unit of local government in many states outside of New England, but in most of these cases its government is entirely representative in form. While the town meeting is found in a few of these states,¹ it nowhere holds the important place that it does in New England. One reason for this is the larger size and more scattered population of the township, which in the public land states is usually six miles square, fixed by the land survey (see page 371). At the head of the township government in its representative form are *trustees* (sometimes three, sometimes only one) who, with the town clerk, the constables, the tax assessor, the treasurer, the justices of the peace, and such other officers as may be required, are elected by the people. The powers of the township government outside of New England vary in different states, but are always quite limited, relating most commonly to the maintenance of roads, school administration, and the care of the poor. In these circumstances there is at least as great need for community organization to support and supplement the work of government as in the New England towns.

What services are performed by your township government?

Make complete list of your township officers, and the duties of each. (Committees of pupils may interview some of the more important officers to get a description of their daily routine, kinds of service performed, etc. Also discuss with parents.)

Look up officers of the colonial New England town that do not exist now, and their duties.

What is parliamentary law? (Valuable training may be secured by conducting school meetings, club meetings, or occasional regular class exercises, in accordance with parliamentary procedure.)

Why is public discussion a check upon the conduct of persons holding responsible positions?

Is popular interest in public questions keen in your community?

If there is a finance committee in your township (p. 454), how does

¹ As in New York and New Jersey; and further west in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Illinois, and Nebraska.

it serve the community? Does it hold hearings? (Attend and report upon some such hearing.)

If there is a town planning board in your community, make a study of its activities.

Is your community more like that represented by the chart on page 457, or by that on page 459?

To what extent do voluntary organizations in your community cooperate with and through the local government?

What is the feasibility of organizing your town (or community) by some such plan as that outlined on page 458.

Discuss the value of a community "forum" as a means to good government.

Procure and examine recently published official reports of your township government. What do these reports tell you? What is the value of such reports? Are the reports of your township generally read by the people of the township? Why? Discuss ways in which your township reports could be made more useful.

The other unit of local government with which the colonists were familiar was the county, which in England embraced a number of townships. In the colonies of New York and Pennsylvania the county and the township were developed together as in England; in the southern colonies the county was organized without the township. To-day the county exists in every state of the Union, including the New England states. In Louisiana it is called the *parish*.

There are two main types of county government. According to one plan, as in New York, each township elects a representative to a county *board of supervisors*, which is sometimes quite large. According to the other plan, as in Pennsylvania, the people of the county as a whole elect a small *board of commissioners*, the townships not being represented as such even when they exist. The board of supervisors or commissioners levies taxes and makes appropriations for various county purposes, such as constructing and maintaining roads, bridges, and county buildings, paying the salaries of county officers, caring for the county poor, and

The county

**Types of
county
government**

conducting the county schools (outside of cities). It is sometimes spoken of as the county legislative body, but it is rather an administrative body, its law-making powers being very slight.

Among the important county officers are the sheriff, who is chief guardian of the peace in the county, has charge of the County jail, is the chief executive officer of the county officers court (see page 513), and sometimes acts as tax collector; the county prosecutor (also called the prosecuting



FAIRFAX COURTHOUSE, VIRGINIA

The monument in front commemorates the first soldier killed in the Civil War.

attorney, the district attorney, or the state's attorney), who prosecutes all criminal cases in the county and represents the public authorities in civil suits; the county clerk, who keeps the county records; the register of deeds, who records all transfers of property; the coroner, who investigates the cause of violent and mysterious deaths; the tax assessor; the treasurer; the auditor, who examines the accounts of county officers; the surveyor; the school superintendent; the health officer. Sometimes there are others.

Although practically every citizen of the United States is also a citizen of a county, the people have as a rule shown surprisingly little interest in county government. As generally found it affords a striking example of poor service resulting from a lack of team work. County government has the reputation of being one of the weakest spots in our whole system of government.

Lack of
interest in
county
government

We seem to have got into the habit of not expecting much service from the county government. Where the township government is strong, as in New England, it takes the place of county government. Where people live in cities, they look to the city government to serve them rather than to the county government. In rural districts the people have come more and more to look to the state and national governments for such service as they expect government to give. These facts might suggest the question whether or not we really need county government.

Will county
government
survive?

One recent writer says,

There are some parts of the country where I can see that the county will pass out of existence entirely in a very short time, unless it does adjust itself to the new conditions.¹

The same writer says,

Unless the county does measure up in this way, the powers of government and the services which it renders will have to drift away from local control and be placed in the hands of some government more fit and which will probably be further away from home.

Students of county government attribute many of its defects to the "long ballot" (see page 444). In one county in North Carolina, at a recent election, there were twenty-five different candidates for county offices on each of three party tickets, making seventy-five candidates among whom each voter had to choose. Township and state officers

Effects of the
long ballot

¹ H. S. Gilbertson, in the *University of North Carolina Record*, No. 159, October, 1918, p. 37.

were also elected at the same election, bringing the number of persons to be voted for up to about fifty out of 150 candidates. It is apparent that the average voter would have difficulty in voting intelligently.



COURTHOUSE, DETROIT, MICH.

The long ballot has other results than the mere difficulty of intelligent voting. One of these is a *government without a head*.

**Government
without a
head**

While the board of supervisors or commissioners is nominally at the head of the county government, it has to work through the various administrative officers. These are also elected by the people, and may be of the opposite political party. At all events, they are inde-

pendent of the board, not responsible to it, and may or may not work in harmony with it. A former member of a county board in North Carolina says,

Most persons are under the impression that the board of commissioners, with its chairman, is at the head of the county government The board does have authority to say how about 19 cents of the entire tax levy may be spent, but its authority over the balance of the levy, over any county official, such as the sheriff, clerk of the court, coroner, constable, county judge, or recorder, is nil. The chairman of the board does have the honor . . . of smiling and trying to look pleasant when complaints are made about bad roads, excessive tax assessments, or the delinquency of some county subordinate, over whom neither he nor the board has any control.¹

Another result of the long ballot is the opportunity it gives the political "boss" to control the selection of officers (see p. 443). It is not uncommon to hear rural citizens ask such questions as, "What's the use of farmers taking off time for politics when the whole thing is run by political bosses anyway?"² "In such counties office-seeking has become not the means to the end of performing service, but exists for the immediate reward, and whatever service is rendered to the people is incidental to that other object."³

The opportunity of the "boss"

Along with these defects, and largely because of them, bad business methods have characterized county government, resulting in poor service and wastefulness of the people's money. A faulty system of keeping accounts is as unbusinesslike and disastrous in public business as in private business.

Bad business methods

The practice of compensating county officers from fees received for special services and of allowing them to retain the interest on public money is one illustration of extravagant business methods.

The fee system

¹ M. S. Willard, *North Carolina Club Year Book*, 1918, p. 87.

² Graham Taylor, in *Rural Manhood*, October, 1914, p. 328.

³ H. S. Gilbertson, *Forms of County Government*, in the *University of North Carolina Record*, No. 159, October, 1918, p. 37.

For many of the services performed by county officers fees are charged, on the principle that the person served should pay for the service. It did not occur to the people to inquire how much their officers were getting in this way. In one county, in which there was a large city, investigation showed that the sheriff had a net income from fees and commissions of \$15,000, the county treasurer \$23,000, and the county auditor over \$50,000.¹

Such faulty business methods are gradually being corrected by the introduction of the short ballot, as in California and elsewhere, by businesslike methods of keeping accounts, by the appointment of county and state auditors, and by giving full publicity to reports of county business.

"But after all," says the county official quoted above, "a great part of the shortcomings of county officials and a great deal of the looseness which prevails in the management of county affairs can be charged to the people themselves."

Another says,

The first thing to be reformed in county government is not the officers down at the courthouse, but our own attitude toward the county, and particularly toward public office. For, after all, public officers in this country are just what the people make them . . .²

This is as true in cities as in rural communities, for the city resident is dependent on his county government for many important services.

There are those who advocate breaking up the county into smaller units for purposes of local self-government, as in New England. Thomas Jefferson, living in Virginia where the county was the sole unit of local government, was a great admirer of the New England town meeting, and said that "public education and the subdivision of the counties into wards," or townships,

¹ E. C. Branson, *The Fee System in North Carolina*, in the *University of North Carolina Record*, No. 159, October, 1918, p. 69.

² H. S. Gilbertson, *Forms of County Government*, in the *University of North Carolina Record*, No. 159, October, 1918, p. 38.

were the "two hooks" upon which republican government must hang. On the other hand, there is an opposite tendency to concentrate the administration of schools, roads, health, and other matters, in the county government (see pages 146, 189, 271). The fact is that both the organization for centralized, county-wide government, and that for the government of local communities within the county, have their uses. Neither can do its best work without the other. The problem is to determine what the business of each should be and to establish a proper balance between them. One thing is sure, namely, that the government of the county cannot be effective unless the people of the various communities within the county are organized to coöperate both for their local interests and for the interests of the county as a whole. This may be provided for in part through township governments, where they exist, and in part through such unofficial organization as that described for the New England town (page 456).

Another important factor in county government is the control exercised over it by the state. The county is not only a local self-governing unit, but it is also a division of the state for the administration of state laws. Its powers of self-government are given to it by the state, and along with these powers it has imposed upon it certain duties for the state. First of all, the county is a *state judicial district*. The most important building at the county seat is the courthouse. The *county court* is one of the state courts described in Chapter XXVII. The county judge is sometimes chosen by the people of the county, but he is really a state officer. In New England the county is almost solely a judicial district, and in all states its judicial purposes are of supreme importance.

The county
as a sub-
division of
the state

But more than this, the county schools are a part of the state school system and must be administered in accordance with state laws, though by county and township officers. County

officers must enforce the health laws of the state. County authorities not only levy and collect county taxes, but also collect state taxes from residents of the county.

Here again we have an illustration of the necessity for a careful balance between matters properly subject to local self-government and those properly subject to state control. Counties have suffered both from too much state control in some respects, and from too little in others. It often happens that the citizens of one county pay more than their share of the state taxes because it has better methods of assessing and collecting taxes and of keeping accounts than other counties in the state. One of the greatest needs of counties, and one least provided for, is uniformity in methods of keeping accounts. Some states have established state systems of auditing county finances.

On the other hand, state governments often interfere in matters that might better be left to local determination. Some counties within a state are almost wholly rural, some are almost wholly urban, others are mixed in character. A form of government adapted to one may not be suited to another. So there has arisen a demand for a larger degree of "home rule" in counties. In Illinois, counties have had the right to determine for themselves whether the township should or should not be given prominence in local government, and whether the "supervisor" or the "commissioner" plan of government should be used. California now has a law which provides that counties may apply for "charters" in the same way that cities do in all states. The "charter," like a constitution, determines the form and powers of the government, and is framed by the people of the county themselves, though it must then have the approval of the state legislature.

While probably half the counties of the United States contain no city, or "town," or village of 2,500 people, there is in

almost every township at least one compact settlement that has grown up around the trading center. Sometimes there are several of them in a township and many in a county. In such compact communities coöperation becomes necessary to provide for needs that are not felt in more rural districts, such as paved streets, sewers,

**The growth
of urban
communities**



Courtesy The New York Public Library.

COUNTY ELECTION IN MISSOURI IN EARLY DAYS

A mezzotint by John Sartain, after a painting by G. C. Bingham. The original painting, made in 1851-1852, hangs in the Mercantile Library, St. Louis.

public water supply, fire and police protection, and so on. A separate government becomes necessary. The people of such communities may appeal to the authorities of township, county, or state, for *incorporation* as a village, borough, town,

or city. "Village" and "borough" are simply two names used in different localities for the same thing. The difference between them and an incorporated town or city is principally one of size and corresponding complexity of organization.

The chief governing body of a village, or borough, or incorporated town, is a small council, or board, elected by the people.

Government of villages and incorporated towns It has legislative powers in a small way, enacting *ordinances* for the regulation of local officers and in the public interest.

In Michigan . . . they may prescribe the terms and conditions for licensing taverns, peddlers, and public vehicles. They have control of streets, bridges and public grounds; and have authority to construct bridges and pavements, and to regulate the use and prevent the obstruction of the highways. They may establish and maintain sewers and drains. They may construct and control public wharves, and regulate and license ferries. They may establish and regulate markets. They may provide a police force and a fire department. They may construct or purchase and operate water works and lighting plants. They may own cemeteries, public pounds, public buildings and parks.¹

The council also has limited power to levy taxes and to borrow money for public purposes.

There is a chief executive officer, sometimes called *mayor*, sometimes president, or by other names. Subordinate to him are various other officers, such as the police marshal, the street commissioner, fire marshal, tax assessor, treasurer, clerk, and so on. In larger villages, boards of health and other boards and commissions exist to administer various forms of public service. The village may also have its minor court presided over by a justice of the peace.

When villages or towns reach a certain population usually fixed by state law, they may be incorporated as cities. The change that takes place is simply one of elabor- **City**
ating the governing machinery and giving to it **Government**
larger powers to correspond with the larger needs of city life.

¹ John A. Fairlie, *Local Government in Counties, Towns, and Villages*, pp. 207, 208.

The complex organization of city government we shall study in the next chapter.

How did the county in Louisiana come to be called a "parish"?

Describe the organization and powers of your county board.

Make a list of your county officers and their duties.

What is the sentiment in your county with regard to the efficiency of your county government? Is the sentiment justified?

What are some recognized defects in your county government?

Do you have the long or short ballot in your county?

To what extent do the people of your county study the reports of your county government? (Consult at home and with older friends.)

What do you find of interest in your county reports?

Are reports of your county published in the newspapers? Have you examined them? Do you understand them? Ask your father to explain them to you.

To what extent does your county board exercise control over other county officers?

To what extent do the farmers of your county interest themselves in politics?

To what extent do the people of your city interest themselves in county government?

Report on the fee system in your county.

How and why are public officers "just what the people make them"?

What is the meaning of Jefferson's remark that "public education and the subdivision of counties into wards are the two hooks upon which republican government must hang" (p. 466)?

Is there too much, or too little state control of your county government? Explain.

What is the difference between a charter and a constitution?

To what extent is there coöperation (or friction) between urban and rural districts in your county?

Report on the organization of village, borough, or town government in your county.

What is the difference between the "town" as referred to in the last part of this chapter and the "town" as described in the first part?

How is a village or town incorporated in your state?

READINGS

State constitution.

County Government and County Affairs in North Carolina, North Carolina Club

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CHAPTER XXVI

OUR CITY GOVERNMENT

How far have the cities of the United States been successful in developing "good government"? How far has our own city been successful in this respect? In seeking an answer to these questions we must keep in mind the two characteristics of good government according to American ideas: efficient service for the people and effective control by the people. We have seen that government includes organization for both of these purposes (see p. 435). The development of a city government that will effectively provide for both has proven to be one of the most difficult problems that our nation has undertaken to solve.

As in the case of township and county governments (see pp. 450, 461), the earliest form of city government in the United States was modeled after the prevailing form in England. Accordingly, the colonial American city, or "borough," was governed by a *council*, consisting of a small number of "aldermen" and a larger number of "councillors," who all met together in one body. There was also a "mayor," but he was simply the presiding officer of the council, by which he was sometimes chosen, though sometimes he was appointed by the governor of the colony. Rarely was he elected by the people of the city. Even the council was often a "close corporation": that is, it was a *self-perpetuating* body, vacancies in its membership being filled by the council itself. This form of government could hardly be called "popular."

After the Revolution, changes in the form of city government began to take place. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the council remained the most important part of city governments. In many cases it still consisted of a single body, but the practice became quite common of dividing it into an upper and a lower "house," in imitation of the national Congress and of the state legislatures. In further imitation of national and state governments; the mayor was made largely independent of the council with greater powers than he had enjoyed in colonial times. Nevertheless, the chief powers of government were in the hands of the council. Both council and mayor were now elected by the vote of the people of the city.

In the second half of the nineteenth century one of the most striking changes in city government was the shifting of the governing powers very largely from the council in two directions: state governments assumed more and more control over cities, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the powers of the mayor were greatly increased. The council became relatively unimportant, especially in the larger cities. Meanwhile, there was a growth of administrative departments subordinate to the mayor, with heads largely elected by the people. This form of city government was the prevailing one at the close of the nineteenth century, and still prevails in the vast majority of American cities.

Since 1900, however, there have developed two new forms of city government in the United States. The first of these is the *commission form*, in which the entire governing power of the city is placed in the hands of a "commission," or small council, usually of five members. One member of the commission is designated as mayor, but he has no real powers apart from the commission. Each member of the commission is placed at the head of one of the administrative departments of the city, but all policies

of government are determined by the commission as a whole. The commission therefore exercises both legislative and executive powers. It is elected by the people.

The most recent form of city government is the *city-manager form*. In this the small commission is retained, and acts as a board of directors for the city, in all essential *City-manager* respects like the board of directors of a business *plan* corporation. This commission appoints a *city manager*, who is like the general manager or superintendent of a business corporation. The city manager is the city's chief executive officer, and exercises large powers. He is responsible to the commission, which may remove him. Sometimes he may be "recalled" by the voters of the city (see p. 447). He appoints the heads of the various city departments. The city-manager plan of city government has achieved excellent results and is becoming very popular in the United States. Some 150 cities have adopted it within the last dozen or fifteen years, though none of the largest cities has as yet done so.

These various experiments in city government, which have been sketched above only in the broadest outline, and which have involved the widest variety of details, are "The one the result of the attempts of the people to secure *conspicuous* better service from it, better control over it, better *failure* team work through it. These attempts have often seemed to be almost in vain. A noted observer of American government,¹ writing in the latter part of the nineteenth century, said that American city government was "the one conspicuous failure" of American government. Let us now examine it a little more carefully to see what some of the problems have been, how they have been met, and wherein success or failure has crowned the efforts to secure team work for service in city government.

¹ James Bryce, an English statesman, one time British ambassador to the United States, and author of *The American Commonwealth*.

Interesting reports may be made on the conditions of living in colonial Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Entertaining descriptions may be found in Henry Cabot Lodge's *A Short History of the English Colonies in America* (use its index). Consult your public librarian.

What form of government has your city now? Has it always had this form?

How far has the development of your city government followed the general course outlined in the foregoing pages?

For more detailed study of the development of city government in the United States, see Readings at end of chapter.

The first question of difficulty is that as to the extent to which cities should enjoy the right of local self-government.

City's powers must be limited We have seen at many points in our study how interdependent communities are, and how all local communities, both urban and rural, are bound together into state and national communities (see especially Chapter VI). We have seen also that this interdependence has increased with the growth of our nation and with the development of better means of communication and transportation (Chapters XIV, XV). It follows, then, that no city should be permitted to "do as it pleases," and that its powers of self-government must be limited in justice to all other communities with which it is united in state and nation.

Review instances of this interdependence between city and rural communities in Chapters x, xi, xiii, xv, xxii.

As in the case of townships and counties, the right or privilege of local self-government is *given* to cities and smaller urban communities by the state. Cities are *incorporated* under

Sources of the city's powers state law, like a business corporation (see p. 331), receiving a *charter* from the state which prescribes the form of government to be adopted and the powers to be exercised by that government. Even the powers granted by the charter are subject to the constitution and laws of the state: thus, the health ordinances of the city must be in harmony with the health laws of the state, and the city school system, though

managed by a local board with large powers, is still a part of the state school system.

Prior to the Revolution some twenty cities, or boroughs, all of which were in fact only small towns, had acquired charters. These were granted by the colonial governors, who **Early city charters** represented the king of England, often on request by, or with the approval of, the inhabitants of the cities. The colonial legislatures had nothing to do with the matter, and interfered very little with the city governments, which under the conditions of the time exercised very simple powers. After the Revolution, however, the charter-giving power passed to the state legislatures.

As time went on, state legislatures acquired more and more control over cities. In early times cities did not suffer from a lack of self-governing power because their problems were comparatively simple, and their charters **Increasing control by state legislatures** gave them all the authority they needed. But as they grew in size, new and complex problems arose to meet which the charters did not convey the necessary authority. We read that, as recently as 1911, the city council of Cleveland, Ohio, was without power:

To control the use of the sub-surface of public highways as a means of obtaining revenue;

To prevent disfigurement of streets by signs and advertisements;

To regulate the architectural appearance and character of buildings fronting upon public highways;

To manufacture ice for charitable distribution;

To prevent the invasion and depreciation of residence sections by the location there of industrial establishments;

To banish chickens and other noise-making animals from the city;

To banish dogs from the city;

To prohibit the erection and maintenance of bill-boards;

To require the erection of gates at grade crossings;

To require the isolation of patients afflicted with tuberculosis;

To provide public lectures and public entertainments.¹

¹ Charles A. Beard, *American City Government*, p. 33.



**OLD CITY HALL (foreground) AND NEW MUNICIPAL BUILDING
(large building in background), NEW YORK CITY**

This was because the charter that Cleveland had at that time did not expressly give to the city government the authority to regulate such matters. Instead of increasing the powers of city

governments to enable them to deal with new conditions, state legislatures themselves assumed the responsibility of regulating the affairs of cities in more and more detail. As one writer says,

State legislatures have acquired the habit, which has in some cases developed into a vice, of enacting into laws all manner of limitations upon municipal independence, and this not only without the advice and consent of the municipalities concerned, but often in direct contravention of their interests and wishes.¹

One of the first steps taken to check the interference by state legislatures with the self-government of cities was the introduction of a provision in some of the state constitutions forbidding legislatures to enact special charters and laws for individual cities, a practice that was very common and led to endless tampering with city government. But uniform legislation for all the cities of a state was found also to work grave injustice. "Must the legislation for a great commercial and manufacturing city with a population of more than a million be regulated by the wants and necessities of an inland city of 10,000 inhabitants?" asked a Pennsylvania court. So the plan was adopted in some states of grouping the cities in classes according to population, with a view to securing appropriate legislation at least for each class. But in Ohio, for example, while the cities of the state were arranged in eleven classes, eight of these were made to contain but one city each,² the legislature thus evading the purpose of the law and continuing with much special legislation.

Attempts to
check leg-
islative
interference

Thus there was experimenting with one plan after another to check the interference with city government by state legislatures. But in no case did a city have an actual "Home rule" voice in framing its own government, or in determining its own powers until, in 1875, Missouri provided in her

for cities

¹ W. B. Munro, *Government of American Cities*, p. 72..

² W. B. Munro, *Government of American Cities*, p. 55.

constitution that cities of more than 100,000 population might frame their own charters. Two or three other states followed Missouri's example before the end of the last century, and a number of others have adopted the plan since 1900.

The extent to which "home rule" for cities is carried varies in different states. In some states the privilege is extended only to the larger cities, in others to all. In a few states, as in Massachusetts and New York, a city may choose for itself one of several forms of government prescribed in the state law. In other states cities may draft their own charters. In two or three states the charter must have the approval of the governor of the state as well as that of a majority of the voters of the city, and in California it must be approved by the state legislature. The charter is drafted by a commission of from thirteen to twenty-one members elected by the voters of the city, except that in Minnesota it is appointed by the district court.

Home rule gives to cities the right, not only to determine their own *form* of government, but also to exercise all powers over local affairs that are not in conflict with the constitution and general laws of the state; for the interests of the state community, and of all other communities within its borders, must be safeguarded. Some powers are therefore expressly denied to cities by the state constitution. In doubtful cases it becomes the responsibility of the courts to decide as between the powers of the city and those of the state. The balance between the interests of the local community and those of the state is a delicate one.

The tendency at present is to increase the city's powers of self-government, while at the same time to increase the supervision of city governments by state administrative authorities. For example,

In New York a state civil-service commission supervises the work of the civil-service boards maintained by cities, and holds them to a strict con-

formance with the law. . . . In New York, Wisconsin, and other states, public-utilities commissions adjust the relations between the cities and the public-service corporations. By state boards of health and boards of education many states have increased the strictness of their administrative control over the corresponding municipal activities. In at least a few states the statistical and accounting departments of state governments have enforced progress in the direction of uniform municipal book-keeping.¹

This administrative supervision of cities is very different from the legislative control of which we have been speaking.

Administrative control is in every way preferable to that factious interference with local autonomy [self-government] which we call legislative supervision. It is supervision by experts, and hence is based upon knowledge, not upon caprice; it is consistent in policy; it does not give unnecessary affront to local self-respect; and it is effective in doing what it sets out to do. The substitution of administrative for legislative supervision — that is to say, of supervision by responsible boards of trained men rather than by the desultory action of legislatures — would be an influential factor in improving the relations of the city to the state, and would thereby have a beneficial reaction upon the affairs of the city itself.²

It will be observed that this latest stage in the development of city government marks a step in the direction of better service as well as in the direction of better control over their government by the people of the city. As a matter of fact, the steps looking to better service and those looking to better control have been closely related all the way along. One of the main reasons why state legislatures acquired so much control over cities was because city governments were giving very poor service during the major part of the nineteenth century. Cities lost their powers of self-government because they did not govern themselves well through their own organizations. But in losing their powers of self-government the cities did not gain the expected improvement in service. Even if state legislatures had been better intentioned than city councils, the remoteness and unfamiliarity

The quest
for better
service

¹ W. B. Munro, *Government of American Cities*, p. 74.

² W. B. Munro, *Government of American Cities*, p. 76.

of most of their members with the peculiar problems of cities unfitted them to govern cities well; and they were not always well-intentioned toward cities. This accounts for the swing back toward "home rule," with its final accomplishment in some states. It also accounts for the transfer from state legislatures to state administrative departments of a large part of the control over cities still remaining to the states. Another thing that this transfer emphasizes is the necessity for *trained leadership* in the affairs of government, as suggested in the last quotation above.

When was your present city charter adopted? By whom was it drafted? How was it adopted?

What is meant by the "corporate limits" of your city?

What powers are denied to your city government by your state constitution? For what reasons are they denied?

Are the cities of your state grouped in classes for purposes of state control? If so, how are they grouped? What other cities are in the same class with your city?

What examples can you give of control over your city by state laws? Is there any feeling in your city that the state legislature interferes in its management to too great an extent? If so in what particulars?

If the cities of your state enjoy "home rule," by what procedure may the charter of your city be changed?

If the cities of your state do not enjoy "home rule," is there any marked sentiment in favor of it? Consult your father.

Give examples of control over your city government by state administrative boards or officers.

What control does your state exercise over city elections? Why should the state exercise such control?

What control is exercised by your state over public utilities in your city? How is this control exercised? What is the reason for it?

Give examples from earlier chapters to show the necessity for state control over health, education, charities, crime, in your city.

Discuss the second quotation on page 481 (from W. B. Munro's *Government of American Cities*) until you are sure you know what it means.

To what extent do the great national political parties enter into the control of your city elections? Report on the organization of one of these parties in your city. Show how control of city politics by national political parties is antagonistic to "home rule." See Munro, *Government of American Cities*, chap. vii.)

Home rule in cities means little, however, unless they have a form of government that insures good service and effective control by the people.

We have seen that the principal governing body in American cities during the first half of the nineteenth century, and in many cities much later than that, was the city council. Its members were elected by popular vote, those citizens having the suffrage in city elections, as a rule, who possessed it for state and national elections (see pages 438, 439). In most cases, council members were elected by "wards," so that each section of the city might have direct representation; but some members might be elected "at large." Theoretically this election by the people gave them control over the council; but in practice cities became hotbeds of corrupt politics, "bossism," and domination by public service corporations and other business interests (see pp. 443, 444), and the people often had very little control over their so-called representatives.

In many instances the council was divided into an upper and a lower chamber, the theory being that each chamber would act as a check upon the other, and thus reduce the likelihood of improper legislation (see pp. 501, 549). In practice this seldom seemed to have any other effect than to delay legislation. There was a decided tendency to get back to the single-chambered council.

During the period of the council's supremacy it acted both as a legislative and an administrative body. For the administration of the city's affairs, such as police, fire, and health protection, the council was organized into committees. At the best, it was rare that this system gave the best service, especially in the larger cities, because the committees would be composed of average men from all walks of life, without special training or experience for the work they had to do. At the worst, council

The council
as a per-
former of
service

committees fell under the influence of corrupt politicians, or of corrupt business concerns holding or seeking contracts with the city. Conditions then became about as bad as possible.

This led to a change in two directions: the council lost to the state legislature, as we have seen, much of its law-making power, and to the mayor and to new administrative departments practically all of its administrative powers. The mayor and the administrative departments became the chief elements of the city government. The resulting form of "mayor government" still prevails in the vast majority of American cities, and was a long step in the direction of both better service and more effective popular control.

The mayor, like the council, is elected by popular vote. While his election may be determined by "bossism" and corrupt influences, it is nevertheless easier to hold one man responsible for his acts than it is a large body of men. The mayor, formerly little more than the presiding officer of the council, now acquired a more independent position. He also acquired the power to "veto" ordinances passed by the council, and otherwise to influence legislation—by his messages to the council, by appeals to the people, and often because of his leadership in the party in power. He further acquired the power, formerly enjoyed by the council, of appointing many city officers and employees, sometimes even the heads of the administrative departments. The last-named power, if exercised wisely, made it possible, at least, to secure more expert leadership in the service organization of the government.

One of the chief weaknesses of this system, however, is that the people, in their desire to retain control, insisted, in many cases, on electing the heads of the administrative departments. This not only lessens the probability of securing expert leadership in these departments, but it also makes their heads independent of the mayor, scattering responsibility instead of concentrating it in one place.

The mayor form of government was further weakened, as we have seen, by lack of authority to do many things most needed by cities. This was in large measure corrected in states where "home rule" was accorded to cities, and when state control over cities was transferred from legislatures to state administrative departments or officers (see above, p. 480).

One thing that greatly increased the efficiency of city government was the reform of the *civil service* which occurred in many cities. The routine work of a city government requires the services of a large number of employees. During the evil days of city government, employees were commonly appointed, first by the city council and later by the mayor, not because of any proper qualifications for the work that they had to do, but as a reward for partisan service, or to please some faction or private interest that was influential in municipal politics. In many cities the civil service has now been placed on a merit basis, candidates for appointment being required to pass competitive examinations to test their qualifications for the positions to be filled. Some of the larger cities have civil service commissions to supervise this matter.

The most radical change in the form of city government that has occurred in our long struggle for better government was that which took place with the introduction of the *Experiment with the commission form of government* (see p. 474). The first experiment with this was tried in Galveston, Texas, in 1901, after that city had been partially destroyed by a great tidal wave. Before this, Galveston is said to have been "one of the worst-governed urban communities in the whole country."¹ The disaster to the city aroused the people to the necessity for the most efficient management possible in the work of reconstruction. A commission of five business men was therefore chosen to take over the entire responsibility of government, the legislature having given the requisite authority in the emergency.

¹ W. B. Munro, *Government of American Cities*, p. 295.

The Galveston plan was at first looked upon as a temporary, emergency government. But it worked so well, placing the city's affairs in a short time in far better condition than they had been before the flood, that it was not only made permanent, but other cities in Texas asked and obtained similar charters. Later the plan was adopted by cities in other states.

The commission plan is in reality a return to the early form of government by a council, but with important differences. The council, or commission, is much smaller than in the earlier form, and is chosen by methods designed to secure thoroughly qualified men. As the plan was extended to other cities, as in Des Moines, Iowa, the use of the initiative, the referendum, and the recall (see pp. 437, 447) became an essential part of the plan, thus securing a high degree of popular control over the commission.

The commission form of government bids fair, however, to be superseded by the *city-manager plan* (see p. 475). In this, as we have seen, the commission becomes in all respects like a board of directors, determining policies and employing a general manager in whom is fixed complete responsibility for the administration of the city's business and the execution of the laws. The city-manager plan retains all the features of the commission plan that insure popular control, while going further in placing responsibility for service in expert leaders.

The National Municipal League, an organization for the promotion of better city government, has issued a little pamphlet containing "The Story of the City-Manager Plan: The Most Democratic Form of Municipal Government." In this the following statements are made:

No city which has tried this plan has gone back to the old way.

The plan spreads fastest in regions which know most about it. For example, it was adopted in Dayton in 1913 and has spread rapidly over Ohio

and now twelve cities of that state have it. It got an early start in three small cities in Michigan in 1914 and now twenty-four places all over Michigan have adopted it. Likewise in Texas (seventeen cities) and in Virginia, where it governs one-fifth of the population of the state.

Numerous investigations, not always friendly at the start, have been made, and the reports have been invariably favorable.

Four out of every five new charters now follow the city-manager plan.

The "Model Charter," drafted for the Municipal League by an eminent and well-informed committee, is a city-manager charter.

Political scientists without exception consider it the best form, and college political science courses teach it as accepted doctrine.

The city-manager plan has not entirely escaped criticism. The principal argument against it is that it is "undemocratic," because it reposes all governing power in the hands of so few people. This criticism comes for the most part from old-time "politicians," who see their hold upon the governing machinery being loosened.

**Democracy
under the
city-manager
plan**

It is well to recall what "democracy" means. It means two things: first, government in the interest of all the people alike, without favor or discrimination; second, government over which the people themselves have effectual control (see pp. 9, 49, 50). There is no question that city-manager government has so far proved more successful than any other that has been tried in enabling the community to hold the government accountable for its acts. So far as experience goes, also, city-manager government has been remarkably successful in the amount and quality of service rendered, and in the economy with which it has been performed.

One of the best-known examples of government by the city-manager plan is that of Dayton, Ohio. Following is a resume of service rendered to the people of Dayton in the seven years since the plan was adopted there:¹

**The experi-
ence of
Dayton**

¹ From "The Story of the City-Manager Plan," National Municipal League, 261 Broadway, New York.

It "reduced the death rate and infant mortality; inaugurated free nursing, medical service and clinics, and extended food inspection; passed pasteurization ordinance; eliminated seven thousand dry vaults; substituted correction farm for work house; abolished prison contract labor; established parole system; enlarged summer and winter recreation program; supervised over five thousand vacant lot, home, school, and boys' and girls' gardens, furnishing free seed; increased park area from twenty to five hundred and forty-one acres; increased public charities; inaugurated free legal aid bureau handling one thousand cases a year; eliminated eleven loan shark companies; operated free employment bureau for women; re-organized police and fire departments; established training schools; organized crime prevention bureau and juvenile police; employed police women; motorized all fire apparatus; passed building code and provided inspection of buildings, sanitation and smoke prevention; established eight-hour day for all city labor; constructed self-supporting garbage disposal plant; bought water supply and lands for \$67,000 as against an earlier bid four times as high and gave abundant supply for the first time; operated a municipal garage; saved several hundred thousand dollars per year to gas consumers by securing universal natural gas at 34 cents instead of artificial gas at 85 cents; contracted for better street lighting at lower rates despite modern costs; provided adequate budget procedure; reduced floating debt from \$125,000 to \$50,000 the first year; put civil service on honest basis; provided annual audit of accounts; publicity on all city matters; appointed city plan commission and numerous other citizen advisory boards; fostered a civic music league; published 35,000 annual reports, annually distributing same to all homes."

As a further example of economy under this plan, Wheeling, W. Va., is reported as having

And of
Wheeling,
W. Va. saved \$12,000 by combining jobs Gave city new electric light system without extra cost. Negotiated new contracts that saved the city \$9,500 on gas and \$20,000 on electricity per year. Made the traction company pay half the cost of two new bridges. Discovered old government had signed away city's rights in a telephone merger, started suit and recovered cash and privileges worth \$110,000. Sold old city gas plant to good advantage. Defeated street railroad fare increase by proving over-valuation.

It is too soon to tell whether or not the city-manager plan will continue to meet the severe tests that modern city life imposes upon city governments, or whether it is to be the pre-

vailing form of city government in the future. So far, none of our largest cities has tried it. The largest city to have adopted the plan by the opening of 1921 was Akron, Ohio, with a population of 208,000. Our largest city, New York, has long had a modified form of "mayor government," that has some points of similarity to the commission form. In that city there is a large "board of aldermen" which has lost most of its powers. There is a mayor with considerable powers, and many administrative departments whose heads are for the most part appointed by the mayor. But some of the most important powers of government have been placed in the hands of a *board of estimate and apportionment*, consisting of the mayor, the city comptroller (financial officer), the president of the board of aldermen, and the presidents of the five boroughs of which New York City is composed (see p. 64). This board has some of the characters of a "commission," and exercises large powers over the city's financial affairs.

The city of Washington is governed by a commission of three men. There is no mayor, no city council, and no city manager. This looks like the commission form of government. But the three commissioners are appointed by the President of the United States, and Congress acts as a city council for Washington. Washington has no city government in any real sense. It is but a part of the District of Columbia, and its government is that of the District. The inhabitants of the city have no voice whatever in the management of its affairs. It is governed rather as a department of the national government. Half the cost of the government of Washington is met by taxation of the residents of the city; the other half is paid from national funds.

There is reason to feel assured that substantial progress has been made in our country toward a form of city government that will satisfy the demands of democracy. It is well to remember, however, that no form of government will produce

the best results without intelligent and loyal support from the people all the time. With such support, good results may often be achieved even with a defective form of government. Intelligent and right-minded citizenship is essential to good city government under whatever form.

If you *do not* have the "commission" or "city-manager" form of government in your city:

Which is the more influential in your city affairs, the mayor, or the city council? Prove your answer.

Just what powers does your city council have?

Just what powers does your mayor have?

Describe the organization of your city council. How are its members elected? Is it a single-chambered, or a two-chambered body? If the latter, what is the difference in powers of the two chambers?

How is your mayor elected? What is his term of office? Who is your present mayor?

What administrative departments are there in your city government? How are the heads of these departments chosen? What are the duties of each department? What control over them does the mayor exercise?

What past experience and training has the head of each administrative department in your city had to fit him for the position he holds?

What kind of showing does your city make in comparison with that of Dayton as described on page 488 above?

Look up carefully the "commission" and "city-manager" plans of government, and report on important features not described in this chapter, especially with reference to means of control by the people and to expert leadership for service. (See Readings, below.)

What arguments can you present for and against the adoption of the city-manager or commission form of government in your city?

If your city *has* the "commission" or "city-manager" plan of government:

Report on the circumstances under which it was adopted. Also, on the method by which it was adopted.

Is there still opposition to its continuance? If so, on what grounds? What changes in detail are spoken of as desirable?

Just what powers does the commission (or council) have? The city manager?

How is the city manager controlled? Who is he? Where did he come from? What training had he had for his work? How may he be put out of office, and under what circumstances?

What administrative departments are there? Who are in charge of them? How are these heads chosen?

How are the employees of your city government (the civil service) selected and appointed?

In employing labor to do the city's work (such as street cleaning, garbage collection, street construction, etc.) is it better for the city to employ it directly, or through contractors? Why? (For a discussion of this, see Beard, *American City Government*, pp. 120-128.)

Does your city have a budget system (see pages 510, 544)? If so, who prepares the budget estimate? Who has the final word in determining the budget? Who makes appropriations for expenditures?

Does your city have a "budget exhibit"? What is meant by this? Look up the subject of budget exhibits and their value. (See Beard, *American City Government*, pp. 150-152.)

Is there a Bureau of Municipal Research in your city? Report on the work of such bureaus in other cities. Obtain literature from such bureaus and study it. (Write to the Bureau of Municipal Research of New York City, or that of Philadelphia, or that of some other city that you know has one, for literature.)

What voluntary citizen associations exist in your city in the interest of better government?

READINGS

Your state constitution.

Your city charter.

Annual reports of your city government and its several departments.

Lessons in Community and National Life:

Series A, Lesson 19: "Active citizenship."

" B, " 19: "The commission form of city government and the city manager."

Beard, Charles A., *American City Government* (Century Co.):

Chapter ii—Home rule

" iv—Municipal government and administration

" v—Raising and spending the city's money

" vi—Guarding the city against vice and crime

" vii—Franchises and public utilities

Munro, W. B., *The Government of American Cities* (Macmillan):

Chapter i—American municipal development

" iii—The city and the state

" iv—Municipal powers and responsibilities

" vii—Municipal parties and politics

" viii—The city council

" ix—The mayor

- Chapter x—The administrative departments
“ xi—Municipal officials and employees
“ xii—City government by a commission
“ xv—The city-manager plan

Bruere, Henry, *The New City Government* (Appleton). This is a study of the commission form of government based on a survey of ten cities.

Rightor, Chester E., *City Manager in Dayton* (Macmillan). This is probably the best book to give a clear picture of the workings of this form of government.

The Story of the City-Manager Plan, This small pamphlet published by the National Municipal League (261 Broadway, New York City) gives a brief, clear statement of the organization and development of the city-manager plan, with a list of the cities using it at the time of publication. Price, 10 cents.

Woodruff, Clinton Rogers, *A New Municipal Program* (Appleton). This book presents the city-manager plan, and contains the complete text of the “Model City Charter” for this form of government prepared by a committee of the National Municipal League.

Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth* (Macmillan), vol. i, chaps. 50–52.

A very fine description of the council-mayor type of city government.

The National Municipal Review is the best magazine for current information regarding every phase of city government. 261 Broadway, New York City.

The American City (magazine) contains valuable material in every issue. 154 Nassau St., New York City.

Municipal Year Book of the City of New York. Municipal Reference Library, New York City. Your local public library will probably have a copy of this. It is the best source of information regarding the government of the City of New York.

CHAPTER XXVII

OUR STATE GOVERNMENTS

WHEN the thirteen original states were colonies, they derived their governing powers from *charters* granted to them by the king, as cities and some counties are granted charters by the state. When they won their independence the people of each state substituted a *constitution* for the charter; the difference between a charter and a constitution being that the former is given to the people by some higher authority, while the latter is adopted by the people themselves. All of our states alike, whether created before or after the Union was formed, are self-governing under constitutions of their own making.

Source of
governing
power

Counties and towns, cities and villages, have no powers of self-government except those granted to them by the state. The national government, also, may exercise only such powers as are given to it by the people *voting as states*. Each state, on the other hand, is self-governing in its own right, and may exercise through its government any power whatever, excepting only those which it voluntarily surrendered upon entering the Union. (See pp. 519, 523; also Constitution, Art. I, sec. 10, and Art. IV.)

The state constitution is the supreme law of the state and is supposed to represent the direct voice of the people. Since the Union was formed, state constitutions have been framed by conventions of delegates elected especially for the purpose, and in most cases have been submitted to the people for their ratification. Amendments may

The state
constitution

be proposed either by such conventions or by the state legislatures, but they must also be ratified by the people. Some of the states have completely revised their constitutions several times, and amendments have been very numerous.

State constitutions are long documents, containing a great deal of detail regarding the organization and powers of government. In this respect they differ from the national Constitution, which is brief and speaks in broad, general terms. Recent constitutions are longer than earlier ones, partly because there is a greater variety of problems to be dealt with, but also because of a growing tendency to limit the powers of legislatures and administrative officers.

**Cause of
length of
state con-
stitutions**

After a *declaration of rights*, which all state constitutions contain, the constitution is concerned chiefly with the organization, powers and duties of the government. Each state may organize its government as it sees fit, provided only that it is "republican" in form as required by the federal Constitution (Art. IV, sec. 4). This means that it must be a form of representative self-government.

**A republican
form of
government**

While the state governments differ from one another in matters of detail, the general plan is the same in all. Each consists of three branches: the legislative branch for law making; the executive branch for law enforcement and administration; and the judicial branch for the interpretation of the laws and for the administration of justice in accordance with the law. These three branches are organized on the principle of a *separation of powers*, to prevent encroachment by one upon the powers of the others, and to make each a check upon the powers of the others.

**Separation
of powers**

In the government of this commonwealth, the legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them; the executive shall never exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them; the judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive

powers, or either of them; to the end it may be a government of laws, and not of men. (Constitution of Massachusetts, Part I, Art. XXX.)

Investigate and report on:

The meaning of "a government of laws, and not of men."

The entrance of your state into the Union.

The history of your present state constitution.

The powers surrendered by your state when it entered the Union.

The length of your state constitution as compared with that of the federal Constitution.

The principal parts of which your constitution is composed.

Number of amendments to your state constitution. When the latest amendments were adopted and why.

The declaration of rights in your state constitution.

Checks exercised by the legislature upon the executive and judicial branches; by the executive upon the legislative and judicial branches; by the judicial upon the legislative and executive branches.

The chief executive officer of the state is the governor, who is elected by the people for a term which varies, in the different states, from one to four years. It is his duty to see that the laws of the state are faithfully executed. **The governor**

The constitution makes him the commander-in-chief of the state militia, which he may call upon to enforce the laws or to quell disorders. It also gives him the power to pardon persons convicted of crime, in the exercise of which power he is sometimes assisted by a special board of pardons and sometimes by the legislature; but the consideration of the pleas of such persons and their friends for pardon often consumes a large portion of his time.

A great deal of the governor's time is also taken up with duties devolving upon him as the official representative of the state on ceremonial occasions, as in the laying of corner-stones of public buildings, attending state fairs, and making innumerable speeches at public meetings of all kinds. By virtue of his office he is also a member of many boards and commissions whose meetings he must attend. **The governor's varied duties**

The governor also has some part in law making. In all states except North Carolina he has the power to *veto* bills passed by the legislature. This check upon the governor's part in law making is not absolute, for the legislature may overcome the governor's veto by again passing the bill, usually by a two-thirds vote. The governor may also in-



STATE CAPITOL OF MINNESOTA AT ST. PAUL

fluence legislation by means of his messages to the legislature in which he recommends measures which he believes should be enacted into law. In case of opposition by the legislature, the governor often carries his proposals directly to the people, who quickly make known whether or not they support him. The governor may call special sessions of the legislature to consider measures of especial importance.

The governor is a more influential officer to-day than he was in the early part of our history. In colonial times he was the direct representative of the king, or of the colonial proprietor, and the people sought in every way to limit his powers. After the colonies became states this habitual fear of the governor continued, and he was placed

Growing in-
fluence of the
governor

under the control of the legislature. As time went on, however, the legislature fell under the suspicion of the people, while the governor was more and more looked to as their leader. Thus, for example, the veto power was given to him, increasing his influence while it curbed that of the legislature.

But the power and influence of the governor are by no means as great in relation to state government as are the powers of the President in relation to the national government. In fact, the executive branch of our state governments has been notoriously weak, and its weakness is of the same kind as that of county and city governments: the lack of an effective, responsible head (see pp. 464, 484).

**Weakness of
the state
executive**

In our national government the executive power is concentrated in the hands of one man. State constitutions seem to confer the same powers upon the governor. The constitution of Indiana, says, "The executive powers of the State shall be vested in a Governor;" and that of Pennsylvania says, "The supreme executive power shall be vested in the Governor." But the Pennsylvania constitution also says, "The executive department shall consist of a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the Commonwealth, Attorney General, Auditor General, State Treasurer, Secretary of Internal Affairs and a Superintendent of Public Instruction" (Art. IV, sec. 1). Four of these officers besides the governor are elected by the people.

**Comparison
of state with
national
executive**

In all states the governor "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed" (Pennsylvania constitution). For the execution of the laws, however, he is dependent not only upon a number of principal executive officers such as those named above, but also upon a large number of less important administrative officers. Governor Lowden, of Illinois, a few years ago said:

**Bewildering
complexity
of administrative
offices**

Administrative agencies have been multiplied in bewildering confusion. They have been created without reference to their ability economically and

effectively to administer the laws. Separate boards govern the penitentiaries, the reformatories, and the educational institutions. Several boards and commissions have charge of matters affecting the agricultural interests. Administration of laws affecting labor is parceled out among numerous agencies, including several boards having jurisdiction of mining problems and several free employment agencies, each independent of the other. Our finance administration is chaotic, illogical and confused.

The administration of the health laws is divided between boards and commissions, with no effective means of coördination. Our educational agencies are not harmonious. Over one hundred officers, boards, agencies, commissions, institutions and departments are charged with the administration of our laws. No systematic organization exists, and no adequate control can be exercised. . . . Under the present system . . . the governor cannot exercise the supervision and control which the people have a right to demand. (Charles E. Woodward, "The Illinois Civil Administrative Code," reprinted from *Proceedings, Academy of Political Science*, July, 1918.)

This condition of affairs is characteristic of state governments generally. Some of the numerous officers are appointed by the governor, but many of them are elected by the people or appointed by the legislature. Their terms of office do not coincide with that of the governor, so that he finds in office many persons whom he did not appoint, and whom he cannot remove. Often they may be of an opposite political party. Thus the very organization of the state executive department is such as to make it impossible for the governor to perform the duty, imposed upon him by the constitution, of seeing to it that the laws are faithfully executed. It must be remembered, moreover, that the execution of the laws is also dependent largely upon a multitude of local officers over whom the state exercises little control (see p. 467). It is apparent how imperfect must be the team work of the people through this organization.

Why have the people put up with this sort of thing? For one thing, they have not understood where the trouble lies. There is also seen the influence of the political "boss," who thrives under this confusion. But among the causes is the desire

**Governor
lacks power to
meet his re-
sponsibilities**

of the people to maintain control over government. They have attempted, in their constitutions, not only to say just what services should be performed for them, but also to specify just what machinery should be used for their performance. For every new service, they have created a new and independent piece of machinery. Then, to make their control complete, as they

Unsuccessful
efforts at
popular
control



STATE CAPITOL OF PENNSYLVANIA AT HARRISBURG

thought, they have made most of their new officers elective. Experience has shown that control of this kind has been gained only at the sacrifice of efficient service, through failure to provide trained leadership and effective organization. Moreover, experience has also shown that control of this kind is largely a delusion; for the people cannot keep in touch with their multitude of officers, and in many cases yield their control, often unknowingly, to the political "boss."

In noting these defects, it is not to be concluded that our state governments have been a failure in all respects. Far from it. Notable progress has been made toward the ideals

which we have been striving to attain. We have tried one experiment after another, some of which have been highly successful, but others of which have not met the test of new conditions. It is important, however, that we should face our failures squarely and profit by them.

At the present time there is a marked effort to overcome the defects that we have just noted, and a good deal of progress has been made in some states. One of the most progressive states in this particular is Illinois, which has recently enacted a law for the reorganization of its executive branch of government.

Under the new "Civil Administrative Code" of Illinois, the executive branch of government is organized in nine departments: the departments of finance, of agriculture, of labor, of mines and minerals, of public works and buildings, of public welfare, of public health, of trade and commerce, and of registration and education.

At the head of each department is a director, who is appointed by the governor, is responsible to him, and whose term of office is the same as that of the governor.

Each department is organized into various bureaus, or other subdivisions, with officers in charge who are directly responsible to the director of the department. Thus, in the department of agriculture there is an assistant director, a general manager of the state fair, a superintendent of foods and dairies, a superintendent of animal industry, a superintendent of plant industry, a chief veterinarian, a chief game and fish warden, and a food standard commission of three members.

All subordinate employees in all departments are appointed under a civil service law which requires competitive examinations.

Associated with most of the departments are "advisory boards" consisting of citizens who serve without pay. Thus, the department of agriculture has a board of agricultural advisors composed of fifteen persons, and a board of state fair advisors of nine persons, not more than three of whom shall be appointed from any one county.

The things aimed at in this reorganization are: (1) fixing responsibility for the entire service organization in one place—with the governor; (2) responsible, trained leadership in each

department of service; (3) responsiveness of leadership to the people's wants, as provided for by the advisory boards; (4) a system of accounting and records that will make for efficiency and economy, and that will inform the people as well as the officers of government.

Investigate and report on:

The name of the governor of your state, his political party, when elected, for how long a term.

Advantages and disadvantages of a long term for the governor.

The constitutional powers of the governor of your state.

The influence of the governor of your state with the people.

The principal executive and administrative officers of your state. Those that are elective and those that are appointive.

A complete list of the administrative bureaus, boards, commissions, and other state agencies, with their duties.

The application of Governor Lowden's statement regarding Illinois (p. 497) to your state.

Any proposed reorganization of the executive branch of your state government.

The legislative branch of government consists, in all states, of a legislature ("general assembly," "legislative assembly," or "general court") composed of two "houses" or **The legislative chambers,** the house of representatives and the **the legislative branch** senate. The senate is the "upper house," and is usually from one third to one half the size of the "lower house"; in Massachusetts only one sixth the size.

A bill to become a law must pass both houses separately, each house acting as a check upon the other, thus securing greater deliberation in law making. The senate **The two houses** is supposed to be, and usually is, a more conservative, or cautious, body than the house of representatives, partly because of its smaller size which makes possible a more careful consideration of business. Its members are elected from larger districts, thus increasing the opportunity to select able men. A higher age qualification is required for membership in the senate than in the house of representatives; and only a part of

the senate is elected at each election, so that it is a continuing body, always containing members of experience, while the lower house may be almost entirely changed at each election.



HALL OF REPRESENTATIVES, PENNSYLVANIA CAPITOL

It is a theory of our representative government that representation should be proportioned to population. To secure this result, each state is divided into election districts presumably of as nearly equal population as possible, the senatorial districts being the larger. In practice, however, these districts do not always have representation proportional to their population. The county is often the unit of representation, or in New England the town, and these districts vary greatly in population. An attempt is made to equalize the difference by providing that no district shall have less than one representative, and often that

**Defects in
distribution
of repre-
sentation**

none shall have more than a certain number. Inequalities nevertheless exist. In Connecticut,

thirty-four of the most populous towns and cities have sixty-eight members in the lower house, whereas if the distribution were made on the basis of population they would be entitled to 186 members. Again, four of the smallest Connecticut towns, with a total population of 1567, have five members; four of the most populous cities, containing 309,982 inhabitants, have only eight members, whereas on the basis of population they would be entitled to eighty-seven.¹

Partisan influences often enter into the districting of states for representation, the party in power trying to fix boundaries in such a way as to insure the continuance of their majority in the legislature.

Investigate and report on the following:

Number of members in the lower and upper houses of your legislature.

Qualifications for membership in each house.

Term of office in each house.

Names of your own representative and senator.

Whether representation in your legislature is proportional to population.

The "gerrymander": what it is, and whether it has been used in your state.

Secure a map showing legislative districts of your state. Locate your own.

The legislature controls our lives at almost every turn.

It has control over the whole domain of civil law;² that is, it lays down the rules governing contracts, real and personal property, inheritance, corporations, mortgages, marriage and divorce, and other civil matters. It defines crime; that is, it prescribes those actions of the citizen which are to be punished by fine or imprisonment or death. It touches the property of the citizen not only by regulating its use, but also by imposing upon it a burden of taxation. Finally, it has control over the vast domain known as the police power, under which it makes regulations concerning public health, morals, and welfare, devises rules for the conduct of business and professions, and in other ways restrains the liberty of the citizen to do as he pleases.³

In view of this importance, it would seem that the people would have the keenest interest in their state legislatures and

¹ C. A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, p. 521.

² See below p. 511. ³ C. A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, p. 516.

the greatest respect for them. This has not always been the case. As one writer says, "it has become almost fashionable"

Attitude of the people toward their legislatures to speak slightly of legislatures and their members, and to talk of them as if they were wholly corrupt and dishonorable. If the very best men the community affords are not always chosen for the difficult and responsible work of law making, the people have no one to blame but themselves. Moreover, the members of our legislatures average up very much like their neighbors, and most of them are sincerely desirous of serving their state and do so to the fullest extent possible under the conditions that exist.

It is indeed time that a different attitude should be assumed toward these bodies . . . Acquaintance with actual legislatures will immediately reveal the fact that they are fairly representative of the American people, and that there is in them a great deal of honest effort to grapple with the difficult problems of legislation. . . . Before all, there ought to be a sustained effort to support the men who are with honest purpose struggling for equitable and effective legislation. . . .¹

Most of the unwise and harmful legislation has been due, not to wrong intentions on the part of legislators, but to the difficulty encountered by a body of men of average intelligence and of little experience in dealing with public questions, in getting information necessary to enable them to decide wisely with respect to the multitude of complicated problems that come before them during the brief session of the legislature.

Difficulties of wise legislation In the lower house of one typical legislature only 19 out of the 252 members had ever been members of a legislature before, 123 were farmers, 6 lawyers, 10 physicians, 48 merchants and manufacturers, 3 bankers, 5 preachers, 6 insurance men, 2 hotel proprietors, 3 liverymen, 14 laborers or artisans, 6 "apparently with no occupation except that of general politician and office-seeker."

Of the thirty members of the senate of the same legislature, 9 were farmers, 4 lawyers, 4 physicians, and 13 merchants. Seven of these had completed their education in "academies," while 13 had never got beyond the public schools.

¹ Paul S. Reinsch, *American Legislatures and Legislative Methods*, p. 126.

These men had to decide, in the course of a few weeks, upon an astonishing variety of problems, some of them of the greatest complexity, and all of them affecting the lives of the citizens of the state in a multitude of ways. It is not surprising that serious mistakes are sometimes made.¹

The mere writing of a bill in language that will convey the exact meaning intended, and that will not involve undesirable and unexpected results, is a difficult matter that requires the skill of men trained for it.

In a number of states an attempt has been made to meet these natural difficulties by the establishment of *legislative reference libraries*, or bureaus, in charge of highly trained students who collect all available information relating to every possible subject of legislation, keep records of legislation in other states, and place the material in convenient form at the disposal of the legislators. Sometimes they provide expert service in the writing of bills in the proper form. It is said that such legislative reference bureaus have already greatly improved the quality of legislation in some of the states.

**Legislative
reference
bureaus**

It would be impossible for a legislature, acting as a body, to give consideration to more than a small fraction of the bills that come before it.

It is said that it is not unusual for more than 2,500 bills to be introduced at a single session. Legislatures are in session from 40 to 90 days. If the session were 60 days, and the working day 10 hours, there would be but 15 minutes for each of 2,500 bills. This time would be divided between the two houses. Besides, a great deal of business must be transacted other than the consideration and passage of bills.

To make possible the handling of all this work, each house is organized in standing committees. As bills are introduced, they are referred to their appropriate committees, in which most of the work of law making is done. Most of the bills so referred are never reported back to the legislature at all, and those that are reported are

**The commit-
tee system
of legislation**

¹ C. A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, p. 525 (from S. P. Orth "Our State Legislatures," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xciv, pp. 728 ff.).

in most cases acted upon by the legislature in accordance with the committees' reports, with little general discussion. The procedure followed in referring bills to committees and in considering them when they are reported back is determined by a complexity of rules that are confusing to the outsider and that cannot be explained in detail here. But their declared purpose is to save time and to enable the legislative business to move smoothly. The small committees can work to better advantage than the large body of men in either chamber. The work is divided up so that the few members of each committee can concentrate their attention upon a few subjects and gain experience in handling special kinds of problems.

On the other hand, it is to this organization that we owe some of the bad law making for which our legislatures are blamed.

Invisible government It tends to remove legislation from the control of the people, and results in what is often called "invisible government," government that is carried on out of sight of the people. It opens a door to partisan influences and to control by political "bosses" and self-seeking "interests." In the lower house the committees are appointed by the *speaker*, who is the presiding officer, and who is always chosen by the members of the majority party in the house from their own number. The senate committees are sometimes appointed by the presiding officer of the senate, who is often the lieutenant-governor, and sometimes elected by the senate itself. But the chairmen and the majority of the members of all committees in both houses belong to the majority party, which is thus enabled to control legislation for partisan ends if it so desires, and it often does so.

Bills may be "killed" in committee, or reported unfavorably, or so amended as to change their meaning entirely, merely at the will of the party leaders, or of "bosses" and interests outside of the legislature. A large part of the work of the committees is carried on in secret. Although

Evils of the system

"hearings" may be held at which citizens may present arguments for and against proposed measures, these may be mere matters of form. Influential interests may maintain a *lobby* at the legislature, which means that they are represented there by agents who seek to influence the members of the legislature, and especially of the committees, sometimes by corrupt methods. The lobby usually works by secret methods, whereas the "hearings" are public.

The party leaders in control, of whom the most important are the speaker of the house, the rules committee, the chairmen of committees, and the "floor manager," by dictating the procedure to be followed, may at times make it practically impossible for a member of the minority party, or one who has incurred the displeasure of the leaders, to gain a hearing. The following description gives an idea of what may happen:¹

Consider the petty annoyances to which a decent member outside the "organization" may be subjected, and the methods by which legitimate legislation, backed by him, may be blocked. The bill goes to an unfriendly committee. The chairman refuses to call the committee together, or when forced to call it, a quorum does not attend. . . . Action may be postponed on various pretexts, or the bill may be referred to a sub-committee. The committee may kill the bill by laying it on the table. On the other hand, the committee may decide that the bill be reported to the house to pass. Then a common practice is for the chairman to pocket the bill, delaying to report it to the house till too late to pass it. When finally reported to the house, it goes on the calendar to be read a first time in its order. Then begins the advancing of bills by unanimous consent, without waiting to reach them in order. Here is where the organization has absolute control. Unanimous consent is subject to the speaker's acuteness of hearing. His hearing is sharpened or dulled according to the good standing of the objector or of the member pushing the bill. If one not friendly to the house "organization" wants to have his bill considered over an objection, he must move to suspend the rules. The speaker may refuse to recognize him, or may put his motion and declare it carried or not carried as suits his and the organization's desires. So the pet bills are jumped over others ahead of them on the calendar, while

¹ From a pamphlet issued by the Illinois Legislative Voters' League in 1903, and quoted by C. A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, pp. 539, 540.

the ones not having the backing of the house "organization" are retired farther and farther down until their ultimate passage becomes hopeless. If the bill of the independent member reaches a second reading, it may be killed by striking out the enacting clause or by tacking on an obnoxious amendment that makes it repulsive to its former friends. . . . To carry out the will of the organization, the speaker declares amendments carried or the contrary by a *viva voce* vote. Demands for roll-calls are ignored by him in violation of the members' constitutional rights. . . .

It is such practices as these that have brought state legislatures into bad repute, and that have resulted in measures to curb their power. Instead of leaving it entirely to them to make their own rules of procedure, many of these rules are now prescribed by the state constitutions. It was in order to restrain the legislatures that the veto power has been given to the governors, and that sessions of legislatures have been limited to brief periods of from forty to ninety days, and then only once in two years. For the same reason state constitutions have taken away powers that legislatures once commonly abused, as in running the state deeply into debt, or in legislating in the interest of particular localities or particular groups; and have provided in great detail for many things that were formerly left to the discretion of the legislatures. For the same reason some states have adopted the initiative and referendum (see p. 437).

Investigate and report on:

Powers possessed by either house of your legislature not possessed by the other.

Powers denied your legislature by the federal Constitution.

Powers denied your legislature by your state constitution. Reasons.

Attitude of the people of your community toward your legislature.

Why service in the legislature does not attract more of the most capable men of the state.

The vocations of the members of your legislature.

Number of bills introduced, and the number passed, at the last session of your legislature.

The purpose of some of the most important laws enacted by your legislature at its last session.

Why it is difficult to write a bill correctly.

The legislative reference library, or bureau, of your state (if any).

The committees in each house of your legislature.

Procedure by which a bill becomes a law in your state.

The speaker of the House of Representatives in your state.

"Invisible government" in your state.

Laws regulating the "lobby" in your state.

Frequency and length of legislative sessions in your state.

Some of the greatest abuses of governing power have been in connection with the appropriation of money. They have been due not so much to dishonesty as to bad organization and loose business methods, both in the executive and legislative branches of government. When the executive branch consists of a large number of more or less independent parts, as described on pages 497, 498, each trying to make the best showing possible, it is quite to be expected that each will seek to get from the public treasury all the money possible without reference to the needs of other parts or to the resources of the state. When, in addition, there is no central executive authority with power to hold the heads of the various parts responsible for their acts, and no uniform or business-like system of keeping accounts, either of money expended or of work accomplished, it is easy to see the opportunity for wastefulness and inefficiency.

**Inefficient
business
methods of
state govern-
ments**

On the other hand, the methods of making appropriations in the legislature have been equally conducive to wastefulness. Appropriation bills pass through the same legislative machinery as all other bills and are subject to the same dangers. Moreover, they are handled by different committees that act as independently of one another as do the various executive departments. In Illinois, for example, until recently "requests for appropriations were submitted informally by each office, department, or board; and separate bills were prepared by the several departments and in-

**Wasteful
methods of
making ap-
propriations**

stitutions, and introduced by individual members of the General Assembly,"¹ then being referred to different committees according to the subjects to which they related. At the session of 1913, 94 separate appropriation acts were passed.

A number of the states have sought to remedy this defect in government by the adoption of a *budget system* (see Chapter XVII, pp. 309, 310). Illinois has perhaps made **The budget system** the most complete reform in this matter. We have already seen how that state has reorganized its executive branch of government (p. 500), which is the first necessary step. In this reorganization there was created a *finance department*, to which all the administrative departments submit a careful estimate of the money needed for their various lines of work, together with a detailed statement of work done and money spent during the two preceding years. The finance department considers all these statements and estimates in their relation to one another and to the financial resources available for the next two years, and submits to the governor a comprehensive and detailed budget. On the basis of this, a single appropriation bill is prepared by a single committee of the legislature. Public hearings are held, the people are given opportunity to know just what the government has done and intends to do, and the governor and his finance department may be held responsible.

No single change would add so largely to both democracy and efficiency as the introduction of proper budget methods.²

Investigate and report on:

Method of making appropriations in your state.

Movement for a budget system in your state.

Why a budget system tends toward (1) economy, (2) efficiency, (3) democracy.

¹ John A. Fairlie, *Budget Methods in Illinois*, quoted by W. F. Willoughby, in *The Movement for Budgetary Reform in the States*, p. 45.

² Foreword to *Public Budgets*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1915; quoted by W. F. Willoughby, *The Movement for Budgetary Reform in the States*, p. 2.

Questions are continually arising as to the meaning of laws, or as to how they apply in particular cases. To answer these questions the judicial branch of government exists, **The judicial branch** comprising a system of courts. The courts are sometimes called upon to decide whether a law passed by the legislature, or an act of an administrative officer, is in harmony with the constitution, and if not, to declare such law or act invalid. The judicial branch of government is therefore the people's organization to keep the other branches of government within their constitutional powers.

In most cases that come before the courts, however, the law is perfectly clear when once the facts in the case are known. It is therefore the business of the courts also to ascertain the facts. There are two classes of cases **Civil and criminal cases** that come before the courts, *civil* cases and *criminal* cases; and the law that applies to the two classes is known as civil law and criminal law. A civil case is one that involves a dispute between individuals, or an injury done by one individual to another. Such would be a dispute over a boundary line between the properties of two individuals, or over the payment of a debt; or a personal injury due to the carelessness of some one, or an injury to property or to health through maintaining a nuisance of some kind. In such cases the court, after ascertaining the facts, merely sees that justice is done, as by the payment of damages to the injured party by the one doing the injury. A criminal case is one in which a person is charged with having violated a law of the community. The injury is one against the community as a whole, and not merely against an individual. It is the community that appears in court against the accused person, and not merely one of his neighbors. In such cases the court first ascertains the guilt or innocence of the accused person; and if he is guilty, imposes a *punishment* upon him, such as a fine, or imprisonment, or even death, according to the nature of the crime.

The judicial branch of government, then, is that part of the governmental organization that seeks to adjust, by peaceful and just means, the inevitable conflicts that arise in community life.



A CRIMINAL TRIAL IN PROGRESS

The lowest in the series of state courts are the *justices' courts*, of which there is at least one in every township. They are **Justices' courts** presided over by justices of the peace. Only cases of small moment come before justices' courts: civil cases involving very small amounts, and cases of minor infractions of the law punishable by small fines or by short terms in jail. Persons accused of more serious crimes may have a preliminary examination in a justice's court and, if the evidence warrants it, be committed to jail to await the action of the grand jury (see below). Most cases in a justice's court are disposed of by the justice of the peace alone; but a jury trial may be demanded in all criminal cases, and in civil suits "where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars" (Const., Amendments VI, VII).

More serious cases, civil or criminal, are tried in the *county*, or *district*, courts before a judge and a *jury*. Cases that have been tried in a justice's court may be *appealed* to the county or district court, where there is sure to be a jury trial, and where the judge is more learned in the law than is a justice of the peace. It is the business of the jury to decide on the facts in the case on the evidence furnished in the trial, and in civil cases to award the amount of damages, if any, to be paid; while the judge sees that the procedure is in accordance with the law, instructs the jury as to the law in the case, and in criminal cases fixes the penalty within the limits permitted by the law.

It was stated above that in criminal cases it is the *community* that appears against the accused. The community appears in the person of the district attorney, otherwise called the prosecuting attorney, state's attorney, or county solicitor. It is the business of this officer to gather evidence of crimes committed in the community and, in most cases, to submit it to the *grand jury*, which is a body of citizens carefully chosen to consider such evidence. If the grand jury considers the evidence against the accused sufficient to warrant bringing him to trial, it brings in an *indictment* against him. The prosecuting attorney then prosecutes the case for the community against the accused. It is of course his duty to secure exact justice; sometimes, however, he seems interested only in securing the *conviction* of the accused.

Our state and national constitutions seek to protect carefully the rights of a person accused of crime. He is assumed to be innocent until he has been proved otherwise. He is guaranteed a "speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury." He must be "confronted with witnesses against him," and have "compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor," and "assistance of counsel for his defense" (Const., Amendment VI). He cannot be compelled to be a

witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without "due process of law" (Amendment V). "Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted" (Amendment VIII).

In some states there is another set of courts immediately above the county courts, known as *circuit*, *district*, or *superior*, courts. The districts in which these courts have jurisdiction include several counties. The cases handled by them are either cases of appeal from the lower courts, or cases of greater importance than those over which the lower courts have jurisdiction.

The highest court in the state is the *supreme court*, sometimes called the *court of appeals*, or the *court of errors*. In the supreme court several judges sit together, and there is no jury. The cases that come before it are for the most part cases of appeal from the lower courts, although there are certain classes of cases that come before it in the first instance. The supreme court is the final judge as to whether acts of the legislature are in conformity with the state constitution.

In addition to the courts named above there are sometimes others to deal with special classes of cases. In cities there are *municipal courts* and *police courts*, both in the same class with justices' courts. There are *juvenile courts* to deal with juvenile offenders; *probate*, or *surrogate*, *courts* to settle the estates of persons who have died; *courts of claims* to settle claims against the state; and *chancery courts*, or courts of *equity*, which administer justice in cases that the ordinary law will not reach.

For example, the *law* will permit a man's property to be taken to satisfy a mortgage; *equity* requires that the property be sold and the surplus over the amount of the mortgage returned to the owner. The *law* will grant damages for any injury inflicted; *equity* will, by an injunction, forbid a repetition of the injury.

The judges of the state courts were originally appointed by the governors, or by the legislatures. With the movement toward more democratic forms of government, the states began to introduce provisions in their constitutions for the election of judges by the people, and they are now so chosen in most states, though in a number they are appointed by the governor, and in a few by the legislature. It is highly important that judges should be controlled in their decisions solely by the desire to render justice, and that they should be removed as far as possible from partisan influences. Popular election of judges is most prevalent because it seems to give to the people the most direct control over their courts. On the other hand, it is opposed by many because it makes possible the election of incompetent judges, and because it does not necessarily remove the matter from partisan influences. In three states (California, Oregon and Arizona) the judges are subject to recall by the people (see p. 447).

The terms during which judges hold office also vary greatly among the states. In three states they hold office for life (Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire). In the other states their terms vary from two to twenty-one years.

It seems to be the opinion of most students that the state courts would be improved if their judges were appointed by the chief executive and should hold office for life, or during good behavior, as is the case in the federal courts.

Investigate and report on:

Civil law and criminal law.

What makes an act a "crime."

Difference between a "crime" and a "misdemeanor."

Justices' courts in your community.

Procedure in a justice's court.

The organization of your county court.

Who is your county (or district) judge.

Procedure in your county court, and how it differs from that in the justice's court.

Organization and work of the grand jury.

How a trial jury is selected.

The citizen's duty to serve on the jury.

Rights of an accused person.

Meaning of "bail," "indictment," "due process of law," "counsel for defense," "subpoena," "true bill."

Circumstances under which an appeal may be made.

The supreme court of your state.

The work of a juvenile court.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

It was the necessity for team work in carrying on the War for Independence that led the thirteen American colonies for the first time to unite under a common government. They had revolted to escape from an autocratic government, and they sought to avoid setting up another in its place. Since it had been the king whom they distrusted most, they endeavored to get along without any executive head at all. Their new government consisted solely of a Congress of delegates from the thirteen states.

**The Revolutionary
Government**

This form of government was continued for several years after the Revolution under a constitution known as the Articles of Confederation. It was, however, unsuccessful in securing anything like real national coöperation. The Congress had no power to levy and collect taxes, it had little power to make laws, and it was without means to execute the laws that it did make. The real governing power during this period was with the several states. The result was a period of unutterable confusion which has been called "the critical period of American history." The question at stake was whether a number of self-governing state communities with a multitude of apparently conflicting interests could really become a nation.

**The critical
period**

During the war Benjamin Franklin had said, "We must all hang together or we shall all hang separately." The states had "hung together" sufficiently to win the war; but the wise men of the time now saw the need for a government so organized and with such powers as to secure

**The new
Constitution**



"THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, PHILADELPHIA, 1787"

Mural painting in the Cuyahoga County Court House, Cleveland, Ohio, by Violet Oakley, A.N.A., Litt.D.

Copyright by Violet Oakley.

Left to right

1. Gouverneur Morris, standing.
2. Alexander Hamilton, standing.
3. Col. Wm. Jackson, seated.
4. George Washington, seated.
5. Rufus King in background.
6. Patterson of New Jersey, standing left of door.

7. Edmund Randolph, standing right of door.
8. James Madison, seated.
9. James Wilson, standing.
10. Benjamin Franklin, standing.
11. William Few, rising and leaning forward.

effective coöperation among all the states and all the people at all times for the welfare of the entire Union, while leaving each state free to manage its own local affairs. Therefore a convention of delegates from all the states was called together at Philadelphia in 1787 to revise the Articles of Confederation. The result was our present Constitution under which our present national government went into effect in 1789.

Investigate and report:

The nature and causes of the confusion during "the critical period" of American history.

The leading men of the Constitutional Convention.

How the states ratified the Constitution.

Which of the original thirteen states did not ratify the Constitution until after it had gone into effect.

The number of states required to ratify before the Constitution went into effect (Const., Art. VII).

"We, the people of the United States" "ordained and established" the Constitution (see the Preamble). It was also "ordained" in the Constitution (Art. V) that it could be amended only by methods designed to give to the people control over the matter—greater control than they have over ordinary law making.

Popular control through the Constitution

A great many amendments have been proposed in the course of time, but only nineteen have so far been adopted, ten of these having been adopted in the very beginning as a condition on which the states would accept the Constitution at all. None of these amendments changed the form of our government except with respect to the methods of electing the President and United States senators (Amendments XII and XVII).

Explain the two methods of proposing, and the two methods of ratifying, amendments (Const., Art. VII).

Has there ever been a national constitutional convention called by the states?

Could the suffrage have been acquired by women by any other method than by amending the federal Constitution?

Which of the two methods of ratifying was used in the case of the last amendment adopted? ¹

Did your state vote to ratify or to reject the last amendment?

The Constitution adopted in 1787 has met the needs of our growing nation in a most remarkable way. It would be a mis-

take, however, to think that it has always met new conditions perfectly, or that we are governed to-day exactly as was intended by the framers of the Constitution. Although few amendments have been made, *interpretations* have been placed on the Constitution that were probably unthought of by the framers or by the people who ratified it; and *practices* have grown up in our government that have made it quite a different government from that which was anticipated. Our government is a *growing* thing, and one of the chief merits of our Constitution is the fact that it speaks in such general terms that it has been possible, under it, to adapt our government to new and unexpected conditions. In this respect it differs from the detailed state constitutions (p. 494).

On the other hand, conditions have arisen with the growth of our nation that our Constitution has not enabled us to meet with the greatest success, and that we have not yet met by amendment. In some cases we have tried to get around the difficulties by devices not provided for in the Constitution, sometimes with unfortunate results. But a recognition of defects in our government should not cause us to lose respect for the Constitution. They are due not to positive blunders on the part of the framers, but to the mere absence of provision for conditions that did not exist when the Constitution was framed and that could not be foreseen by the wisest men of that time. The wise course for all good citizens is to seek to understand clearly wherein our government fails to

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¹ Ohio by a referendum (see p. 437) in 1919 submitted the eighteenth amendment to the people of the state for their vote, after it had been ratified by the legislature. This was the first time in our history that an amendment to the Constitution was submitted to popular vote for ratification.

meet our needs, if it does fail, and then to seek to correct the difficulty, under the existing terms of the Constitution if possible, or by amendment of the Constitution if that becomes clearly necessary. Amendment of the Constitution was purposely made difficult, and this was doubtless wise, for it tends to prevent changes without full consideration of their need and probable effects.

Radical changes in our form of government and in our established laws are always fraught with danger. Because of the extreme complexity of community life a change effected at one point to meet a particular evil may have consequences of the most far-reaching kind and in the most unexpected directions. A change that corrects one evil may produce conditions resulting in evils even worse than the first. Changes are necessary at times, but they should be made only after the most careful consideration by men of the widest possible experience.

One thing that stood out clearly after the Revolution was the fear of a strong national government. Some of the states refused to ratify the Constitution unless amend- **The bill of rights** ments were added at once guaranteeing the liberties of the people. The first ten amendments, known as the "bill of rights," were the result. To make sure that no important rights were left unguarded, the ninth amendment provides that "the enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

Read the first ten amendments and discuss the meaning of each.

It was clearly expected that most of the governing powers to which the people were subject should be exercised by the states, and not by the national government. The national government was to exercise no powers except **A government of delegated powers** such as were *delegated* to it in the Constitution. These powers are important ones, but few in number, and are listed in section 8 of Article I. In order to make this limitation of powers perfectly clear, the tenth amendment declares that

“The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people.” Certain powers were also expressly denied to the national government in section 9 of Article I.



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INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT HARDING

Discuss the meaning of each clause in Article I, section 8.

Discuss the meaning of each clause in Article I, section 9.

The powers of the national government relate to interstate and foreign affairs, or to matters that the several states could not well regulate without confusion or injustice. For example, it was chiefly the confusion in matters pertaining to trade in the period following the Revolution that made the new government necessary. Therefore

**The scope of
national
powers**

power was given to it "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes." So, also, it was given power "to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures," for varying systems of coinage and of weights and measures would be inconvenient. For similar reasons it was empowered "to establish post-offices and post-roads," "to establish an uniform rule of naturalization" for immigrants, and "to promote the progress of science and useful arts" by giving copyrights and patents to authors and inventors. The states, on the other hand, were expressly forbidden to exercise any control over some such matters of national and international concern in section 10 of Article I.

Read section 10, Article I, and discuss the reasons why the powers there mentioned should have been denied to the states.

Not only did the framers of the Constitution carefully limit the powers that the national government might exercise, but they also introduced into the organization of the government various devices to control it and to prevent any of its parts from assuming too much power. The most important of these is the system of *checks and balances*. In our national government, as in the state governments (see p. 494), the legislative, executive, and judicial powers are *separated*. In early times in England, the king could make any laws he wished, he could enforce them as he pleased, and he controlled the courts of justice. In our government the legislature, composed of representatives of the people, makes the laws; the executive branch of government sees to their enforcement; and the courts, which are responsible neither to the legislature nor to the executive, interpret the law and administer justice in accordance with the laws. This separation of powers is to prevent any one person or group of persons from exercising too much power, as the king did, and is a safeguard to the liberty of the people. But the separation of powers

The system of
checks and
balances

is not complete. Each branch of government has a *limited control* over the others. This constitutes *the system of checks and balances*, which still further protects the people's liberties.

While the President can not make the laws, he is given a check upon the law-making power of Congress by his veto power. On the other hand, he can not, by an excessive use of his veto power, destroy the law-making power of Congress, because Congress may pass laws over the President's veto by means of a two-thirds vote.

The President can not make a treaty, nor appoint men to office, without the consent of the Senate; neither can he exercise his executive powers until Congress votes him the necessary money.

If Congress passes a law that is contrary to the Constitution the courts may declare the law void, and the executive can not enforce it. The courts, on the other hand, are in a measure under the control of both Congress and the President, for Congress may create and destroy courts (except those created by the Constitution), and the President, with the consent of the Senate, appoints the judges.

The "checks and balances" in the organization of our government have been very effective in accomplishing the purpose for which they were intended, namely, to protect the liberties of the people against despotic government. But they have also, at times, been an obstacle to team work and to effective service. It sometimes happens, for example, that the President represents one political party, while the majority of one or both houses of Congress are of the opposing party. The two branches of government may then enter into a struggle on partisan grounds, each trying to defeat the program of the other. Such a situation was probably unforeseen by the framers of the Constitution, although it again reminds us of Washington's warning with regard to the dangers of the party spirit (p. 441).

**Advantages
and disad-
vantages of
checks and
balances**

With the growth of our nation, the national government has come to perform a vast amount of service, as we have seen in earlier chapters, and to regulate the lives of the people in a multitude of ways little dreamed of by the makers of the Con-

stitution. This has been possible because of the principle of *implied powers* in the Constitution. This means that some of the powers expressly granted in the Constitution have been broadly interpreted to *imply* powers not expressly stated. There are certain clauses in the Constitution that especially lend themselves to such broad interpretation. For example, after the enumeration of the powers which Congress may exercise, in section 8 of Article I, clause 18 of that section gives Congress power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers . . ." Another clause whose liberal interpretation has been responsible for much of the service performed by the national government is that giving it the power to regulate interstate commerce (Art. I, sec. 8, cl. 3).

The implied powers of the national government

In the early days of our government the Federalist party, under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton, proposed the creation of a *national bank*. The Republican party under Jefferson opposed this because the Constitution did not expressly provide for it, and because it was feared that it would give the national government too much power. But the "broad constructionists" argued that a national bank was a "necessary and proper" means to enable the national government "to borrow money on the credit of the United States" and to exercise other financial powers expressly granted in the Constitution. The Supreme Court of the United States supported the latter view, and the national bank became a fact.

The building of roads and other internal improvements by the national government have always been opposed by the "strict constructionists," except where roads were clearly "post-roads" (Art. I, sec. 8, cl. 7). But the "broad constructionists" argued that roads were "necessary and proper" to provide "for the common defense," and also as a means "to regulate commerce among the several states."

Most of the work that the national government has done for the promotion of the public health, such as the passage and enforcement of the "pure food and drugs act," the inspection of livestock and of slaughter-houses, and the attempt to regulate child labor, has been done under the authority of the clause which gives to Congress the power to regulate interstate commerce.

It has been the duty of the Supreme Court of the United States to decide finally whether much of the new service undertaken by the national government is in accordance with the Constitution or not, and this court has been responsible for most of the expansion of the service rendered, because of its liberal interpretation of the Constitution.

**Expansion of
powers by
judicial
decision**

Why should the power to regulate interstate commerce also give Congress the power to require the inspection of cattle in your neighborhood? or to forbid the use of harmful substances in patent medicines? or to forbid the employment of children in factories?

Find out what you can about the influence of John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, in extending the powers of the national government.

The Constitution vests the executive power in the President of the United States (Art. II, sec. 1), and he alone is responsible to the people for the execution of the laws. The people are protected against abuse of this power in the hands of one man by various constitutional provisions. The President's term of office is limited to four years, though he may be reelected. In case of improper conduct in office, he may be removed by *impeachment*. The impeachment charges must be brought against him by the House of Representatives, and the Senate, presided over by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, must act as a court to try the case. Moreover, even the President must act according to law, and insofar as his duties are not prescribed by the Constitution they are prescribed by Congress. Congress must also create the machinery by which the President executes the laws, and it must appropriate the necessary money. The Senate exercises a further control over the President in that it must approve all appointments and all treaties made by him.

The method of electing the President provided in the Constitution was intended to insure a wise choice, and also shows a lack of complete confidence in the people on the part of the

framers of the Constitution. He was to be elected by a body of *electors*, chosen by the several states "in such manner as the legislatures thereof may direct," the number of electors from each state to equal the whole number of senators and representatives from that state (Art. II, sec. 2). These electors were originally chosen by the legislatures of the states, but are now elected by the people. When voters "vote for the President" every four years, they in reality only vote for these electors who, in turn, cast their votes for the President.

**Method of
electing the
President**

In the method of electing the President we find one of the points where the intention of the framers of the Constitution has clearly been thwarted. It was obviously the intention that the electors chosen by the states should use their own discretion in the choice of the President. But in practice to-day, the entire body of electors from each state always represents the victorious political party, and casts its vote invariably for the presidential candidate already nominated by the party machinery (see p. 446). We still elect the electors, and the electors go through the form of electing the President; but their part in the procedure is now entirely useless.

**Departure
from the in-
tention of
the Consti-
tution**

The Vice-President is elected at the same time and by the same method as the President. But he has no executive duties whatever so long as the President is capable of performing his duties. In order that he might have something to do, he was made presiding officer of the Senate, but even there he has no vote except in case of a tie.

**The Vice-
President**

Investigate and report:

The qualifications necessary to hold the office of President (Const., Art. II, sec. 1, cl. 5).

How the electors elect the President (Const., Amend. XII).

Who would become President if both the President and the Vice-President should die?

The salary of the President.



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PRESIDENT HARDING ADDRESSING CONGRESS

The oath taken by the President on assuming office. The difference between an oath and an affirmation. (Art. II, sec. 1, cl. 8.)

The powers of the President (Art. II, sec. 2).

A President who was impeached.

Why no President has been elected for a third term.

Advantages and disadvantages of a longer term for the President.

The President is at the head of a stupendous service organization which was not ready-made by the Constitution, but which has been gradually created by acts of Congress under its express and implied powers. The Constitution did not even create the great administrative departments through which the President works, although it implied that such departments should be created: "The President . . . may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices" (Art. II, sec. 2, cl. 1). The heads of these departments are appointed by the President, are responsible to him, and may be removed by him. Together they constitute the President's *cabinet*, meeting with him frequently to discuss the affairs of their departments and matters of public policy.

**Growth of the
national
service or-
ganization**

Five of these administrative departments were created during Washington's administration. These five have grown to cover a multitude of activities that were not at first contemplated, and five other great departments have since been created.

**The adminis-
trative de-
partments**

The *Department of State* maintains relations between the United States and foreign powers. The Secretary of State, acting for the President, negotiates treaties with foreign governments, and is in constant communication with the ambassadors, ministers, consuls, and other representatives of our government in foreign countries, and with similar representatives of foreign governments in this country. This department is the medium of communication between the President and the governors of the several states. The Secretary of State has in his keeping the treaties and laws of the United States, and also the Great Seal of the United States, which he affixes to proclamations, commissions, and other official papers. Through him the

rights of American citizens in foreign countries are looked after. He is first in rank among the members of the cabinet, and by law would succeed to the Presidency in case of the death or disability of both the President and the Vice-President.

The *Department of the Treasury* has at its head the Secretary of the Treasury, who is the financial manager of the national government. He prepares plans for, and superintends the collection of, the public revenues; deter-



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PRESIDENT HARDING AND HIS CABINET

mines the manner of keeping the public accounts; directs the coinage and printing of money. He also controls the construction and maintenance of public buildings, and administers the public health service and the life-saving service.

The *Department of War* is directed by the Secretary of War, who, under the President, controls the military establishment and superintends the national defense. He also administers river and harbor improvements, the prevention of obstruction to navigation, and the building of bridges over navigable rivers when authorized by Congress. He also has direction of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, which supervises the government of Porto Rico and the Philippines.

The *Department of Justice* has at its head the Attorney General, who is the chief law officer of the government, and represents it in all matters of a legal nature. He is the legal advisor of the President and of the several executive departments, and supervises all United States attorneys and marshals in the judicial districts into which the country is divided.

The *Post Office Department* is administered by the Postmaster General (see pp. 251-253).

The *Department of the Navy*, under the Secretary of the Navy, has charge of the "construction, manning, equipment, and employment of vessels of war."

The *Department of the Interior* was created to relieve the Department of State of work relating to internal affairs, and now embraces a wide variety of duties. At its head is the Secretary of the Interior. Through many bureaus and divisions it administers the public lands, the national parks, the giving of patents for inventions, the pensioning of soldiers, Indian affairs, education, the reclamation service, the geological survey, the improvement of mining methods for the safety of miners, certain matters pertaining to the territories of the United States, and certain institutions in the District of Columbia.

The *Department of Agriculture* is directed by the Secretary of Agriculture, and carries on a great variety of activities for the promotion of agriculture and the well-being of the agricultural population.

The *Department of Commerce*, under the Secretary of Commerce, promotes the commercial interests of the country in many ways. It includes in its organization the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the Bureau of Corporations, the Census Bureau, the Bureau of Lighthouses, the Bureau of Navigation, the Bureau of Fisheries, and the Bureau of Standards.

The *Department of Labor*, under the Secretary of Labor, has for its purpose "fostering, promoting, and developing the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, improving their working conditions, and advancing their opportunities for profitable employment." Among its important bureaus are those of Immigration and of Naturalization, and the Children's Bureau, which investigates and reports upon "all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people."

In addition to these great administrative departments with their numerous bureaus and subdivisions, there are various boards, commissions and establishments that are independent of the departments.

The detailed work of this vast service organization is carried on by about 400,000 employees (not counting the army and the navy). These constitute the *civil service*. The quality of service depends largely upon the efficiency of these employees. The task of filling all these places is a large one. In Andrew Jackson's administration (1829-1837) the "spoils system" was introduced, which means that



THE WHITE HOUSE, SOUTH FRONT

government positions were treated by the victorious party as "the spoils of victory," to be given to members of the victorious party as rewards for party service without much regard to fitness for the work to be done. Whenever the administration passed from one party to another, the army of civil service employees was displaced by another of new employees. Not only did this result in inefficient service, but the time of the President and the heads of the departments was largely consumed in considering the claims of those seeking appointment.

Moreover, since appointments could be made only "with the advice and consent" of the Senate, senators were besieged by applicants for positions and their friends. The President,

overwhelmed by the multitude of appointments to be made, came to rely almost wholly upon the advice of the senators, and even of members of the House of Representatives, for appointments in their states and districts. Thus, in effect, appointments were made by members of Congress rather than by the President who was really responsible. No system could have been devised more wasteful of the time of the executive and legislative branches of the government, or more conducive to inefficiency.

The spoils system became a great offense to the nation, but it was not until President Garfield was murdered by a disappointed office-seeker that Congress, in 1883, passed a law for the reform of the civil service.

**Reform of
the civil
service**

Candidates for many positions in the civil service were required to pass an examination designed to prove their fitness for the work to be done, and a *civil service commission* was created to administer the law and to conduct the examinations, which are held at stated intervals in different parts of the country. Those appointed under this system cannot be removed except for cause. Even at the present time, however, only about half of the civil service is subject to this *merit system*.

From the description of the work of the several executive departments on pages 529-531 select topics for special investigation and report; such as:

The work of United States consuls.

Coining money; the United States bureau of engraving.

The life-saving service of the United States.

The United States Army in war and peace.

The United States Army as an organization to save life, especially in its work of sanitation in territories occupied.

Representatives of the United States Department of Justice in your community, and examples of their work.

Building a battleship. Training for the navy.

Exploits of the navy in war. The work of the navy in time of peace.

The work of the patent office; of the bureau of Indian affairs; of the geological survey; of the bureau of mines.

Taking the United States census.

The work of the bureau of fisheries.

Marvels of the bureau of standards.

The immigration bureau.

Work of the children's bureau.

How an immigrant is naturalized.

The Government Printing Office.

The Congressional Library.

The spoils system in Andrew Jackson's administration.

How would you go about it to take an examination for the civil service?
Is there any reason why a mail carrier or a clerk in a government office should be a Republican or a Democrat?

What employees of the United States civil service are there in your community?

Efficient government requires strong, clearly recognized leadership. *Democratic* government requires that its leadership shall be responsive to the needs of the people and under their control. The problem of how to secure strong leadership and controlled leadership at one and the same time is a difficult one.

Responsive and responsible leadership
So far as the executive branch of government alone is concerned, the framers of the Constitution secured strength by concentrating full responsibility in the President. But did they expect him to be their leader in the government as a whole; that is, in formulating the policies of government that should serve as the basis for legislation? We are in the habit of thinking of him as our national leader, but was he made so in fact?

Leadership of the President
In fact, the framers of the Constitution were apparently more concerned about maintaining control over the President than about clearly making him the nation's leader. About the only indication the Constitution contains that he was to be such a leader is the statement that he "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient" (Art. II, sec. 3). He does submit recommendations to Congress at the opening of each of its terms and often at other times. If the

President and the majority in Congress are of the same political party, Congress is pretty likely to follow the President's lead; or, if the President has a commanding personality and is clearly popular with the people, he may force measures through even an unwilling Congress. But if differences arise between the President and Congress, especially when one or both Houses of Congress are of the opposite party from the President, his recommendations may be entirely ignored. By our system of "checks and balances" the President is "controlled," but he ceases to be a leader when he does not have the "following" of Congress, or of the majority of the people.

President Wilson began his second administration with a majority in both Houses of Congress of his political party, and apparently in popular favor. He was clearly accepted as leader and practically all of his proposed measures were favorably acted upon by Congress. In the middle of this administration a congressional election occurred which resulted in a majority in both Houses of the opposing party. This result might be considered as a popular vote against the leadership of the President, and his opponents did consider it so. Whether this was true or not, Congress refused to follow his leadership in many important questions, including the treaty of peace with Germany.

It will be helpful to compare this situation with the method by which England has worked out the problem of leadership and control of leadership.

**Control of
leadership in
England**

The real executive head in the English government is the prime minister. The king appoints the prime minister, but he always chooses for the position *the recognized leader of the political party that is in the majority* in the House of Commons (which corresponds to our House of Representatives).

The prime minister having been appointed, he then selects the other members of his cabinet, who are to be the heads of the executive departments, and *who are also members of parliament*.

The prime minister and the other members of the cabinet have seats in the House of Commons, contrary to the practice in our country. *They also take the lead in legislation*, for most of the important bills considered in the House of Commons are planned and introduced by the cabinet. So the executive and legislative branches of the English government are not separated as in our country. The same group of men manage the service organ-

ization and lead in planning the legislation that makes the service possible.

It sometimes happens, however, that the cabinet introduces a measure which, after discussion, a majority of the House of Commons rejects. This means that on this question the cabinet no longer represents the majority



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

in the House. Then one of two things happens. *Either the cabinet resigns* in a body to make way for a new cabinet that does represent the majority; *or the prime minister asks for a general election for members of the House of Commons.* If at this election a majority is again returned that is opposed to the cabinet, it means that the cabinet no longer leads the people, and it resigns. If a majority is returned in support of the cabinet, it means that the old House was no longer representative of the people, and the old cabinet retains its leadership.

This system gives the English people *more direct control* over their government than we have in our country; it is very much like the method of *recall* that is used in some of our states (see p. 447). At the same time, it makes sure a real executive leadership *within the government*, a leadership that is both responsive and responsible to the people.

Not only does our Constitution fail clearly to provide for responsible leadership within the government, but our system of "checks and balances," our party system of government, and the organization and rules of Congress, all taken together, have tended to confuse our leadership, and to impose upon us an *irresponsible leadership*, *outside* of the government as outlined by the Constitution. To understand this it will first be necessary to examine the organization of Congress.

Growth of irresponsible leadership

Congress, like the state legislatures, consists of two chambers, the House of Representatives and the Senate; this being another instance of "checks and balances."

The Congress

The creation of two chambers in the Congress made possible a satisfactory settlement of a dispute in the Constitutional Convention with regard to the basis of representation. The larger states wanted representation proportional to their population, while the smaller states insisted upon *equal* representation for all the states. It was settled that there should be equal representation in the Senate, and proportional representation in the House of Representatives. This is one of a series of compromises that had to be made between the two parties in the convention. In fact, the Constitution is a series of compromises from beginning to end. Only thirty-nine of the fifty-five delegates in the convention signed the Constitution, and it is probable that no one even of the thirty-nine was wholly pleased with it.

The number of representatives in the first Congress from each state was fixed in the Constitution, and provision made for a census in 1790 and every ten years thereafter, on the basis of which a reapportionment should be made. At present there are 435 members of the House, one

The House of Representatives

for about every 212,000 of the population. They are elected by direct vote of the people, one from each of the *congressional districts* into which each state is divided, and for a term of two years.

There are two senators from each state. The Constitution provided that they were to be elected by the state legislatures, another evidence of distrust of the people. In 1913, the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution was enacted, providing for the election of senators by popular vote, showing the growing spirit of democracy and the distrust of the state legislatures (see page 508). Senators are elected for six years, but the term of only one third of them expires at the same time, so that at least two thirds of the Senate have always had at least two years' experience. No citizen may become a senator until he is thirty years of age, while one may become a member of the lower house at twenty-five.

The House of Representatives has one important power not possessed by the Senate: it alone can originate bills for raising revenue. This is because its members were supposed to be more directly representative of the people than the senators. However, the Senate may amend such bills, and often succeeds in forcing the House to accept such radical amendments as practically to destroy the advantages possessed by the latter in its power to originate the bills.

In addition to its law-making powers, the Senate was intended to be an advisory council to the President. Only with its "advice and consent" may the President make appointments and treaties.

Investigate and report on the following:

The compromises of the Constitution.

The census of 1920.

The number of congressional districts in your state, and the number of the one you live in.

The names of your representative and senators.

The qualifications for election to the House of Representatives and to the Senate (Art. I, secs. 2 and 3). Compare with the qualifications for election to the two houses of your legislature.

The characteristics of the Senate that make it more conservative than the House of Representatives. The meaning of "conservatism."

Why the Senate should be more conservative than the House.

The "long" and "short" sessions of Congress.

How vacancies in Congress are filled between elections.

Legislation in which the representative from your district has been especially interested during the last session of Congress.

In England a member of the House of Commons is not required to be a resident of the district which he represents. Arguments for and against this plan.

Debate the question: *Resolved*, that our Constitution should be amended to provide for a "responsible cabinet government" as in England.

The presiding officer of the Senate is the Vice-President of the United States, while that of the House of Representatives is a *Speaker* elected by the House. The Vice-President has no vote in the Senate except in case of a tie, when he may cast the deciding vote. The Speaker, on the other hand, has all the rights of any other member and has large powers by virtue of his position. He is always elected by a strictly party vote, and therefore represents the majority party in the House.

As in the state legislatures, and for the same reason, most of the work of legislation in Congress is done by standing committees, of which there are about sixty in the House and about seventy-five in the Senate. As in the state legislatures, these committees are chosen on party lines, the chairmen and the majority of the members always being of the majority party. The procedure by which legislation is carried on in Congress is very much the same as that in the state legislatures (see page 505), and has the same advantages and disadvantages. There is even greater necessity for the committee organization and for rules because of the vastly greater number of bills introduced. In a recent Congress more than 33,000 bills were introduced in the House of Representatives alone. Whereas in the state legislatures some of the rules of procedure are fixed by the state constitutions, the rules of Congress are determined entirely by each House for itself.

Unquestionably this organization of Congress is designed to facilitate business, and it does make possible the handling of an enormous amount of work that could not be handled otherwise. And yet the very same organization and rules are responsible for much delay in legislation. A few members, skilled in parliamentary law, may sometimes, by taking advantage of certain rules of procedure, completely block the transaction

**The rules
may
defeat
their own
ends**



A CORNER IN ONE ROOM OF THE UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU
Compiling vital statistics

of business contrary to the desire of the majority. On the other hand, the leaders in Congress (they might almost be called "masters"), such as the Speaker, the committee on rules, and the chairmen of some of the other committees, may sometimes rush legislation through in a "cut-and-dried" manner. One member of the minority in Congress complained:

You send important questions to a committee, you put into the hands of a few men the power to bring in bills, and then they are brought in with an ironclad rule, and rammed down the throats of members; and then those measures are sent out as being the deliberate judgment of the Congress

of the United States when no deliberate judgment has been expressed by any man.

Again, this organization of Congress often leads to confused and "piecemeal" legislation. Thousands of bills are introduced and handled by different committees acting independently of one another and without unity of purpose. It was pointed out during the recent war, for example, that

**Piecemeal
legislation**

One committee or sub-committee has supervision of the building of barracks at a given army post while another committee or sub-committee has supervision of building the hospital at the same post. One committee has jurisdiction of the guns, another committee has jurisdiction of the emplacement of the guns. All committees are jealous of their own prerogatives and sometimes more or less jealous of other committees.¹

While there is a "committee on appropriations" in the House of Representatives,

On the ground that no single group of men can give a speedy and careful scrutiny to the whole range of appropriation measures, one class of appropriations after another has been taken away from this committee and intrusted to other committees until, as a result, the work of preparing appropriations in the House of Representatives is broken up so that there are now no less than fourteen general appropriation bills prepared by seven different committees.²

This procedure in Congress has caused leadership to become diffused, hidden, and often to pass outside of the government altogether into the hands of "bosses" and special "interests." There can be no well-conceived *plan* worked out by responsible leaders and approved by Congress as a whole. There may be "plans," worked out by leaders in Congress, but they are likely to be plans designed to serve party ends rather than to promote a well-thought-out program of national development.

**Diffused
leadership
in Congress**

¹ Will Payne, "Your Budget," *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan. 3, 1920, p. 166.

² Beard, *American Government and Politics*, p. 366.

In the English government, as we have seen (page 535), leadership in legislation is provided for in the prime minister and his cabinet. At the same time, that leadership is controlled effectively by the people's representatives in parliament. The great English philosopher, John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), thus stated the purpose of the English House of Commons:

The duty of Congress to watch the executive

To watch and control the government;¹ to throw the light of publicity on its acts; to compel a full explanation and justification of all of them which any one considers questionable; to censure them if found condemnable; to be at once the nation's committee on grievances; an arena in which not only the opinion of the nation, but that of every section of it, and as far as possible, of every eminent individual that it contains, can produce itself in full sight and challenge full discussion.

In our government we have had neither the same leadership by the executive nor the same effective control by Congress that exist in the English government. The absence of such leadership is especially marked when the legislative and executive branches represent opposing parties, as sometimes happens, or when the two branches of Congress are politically opposed to each other. It is at just such times, however, that Congress seeks most vigorously to "control" the executive; but it is control for partisan ends more often than for efficiency of government. The legislative and executive branches of government are each extremely jealous of any encroachment upon its powers by the other. It is charged, on the one hand, that Congress, by law, exercises administrative powers that properly belong to the executive. On the other hand, Congress alleges that the executive branch of the government encroaches on its legislative powers. While this chapter was being written a member of the House of Representatives made a speech in which he declared:

Jealousy between Congress and the executive

¹ "Government" here refers to the executive branch.

This bill presents a fine specimen of bureaucratic legislation.¹ If the Congress ever intends, as it surely does, to regain the powers granted it by the fathers, of which it is now temporarily deprived by bureaucratic encroachment, now is the time to start upon such a campaign by defeating by a decisive majority the bill now offered for your consideration. . . . Every time you weaken Congress by the establishment of a bureau in which the authority of Congress is lessened, you lay one more stone in the erection of the temple of autocracy. . . . These bureaus are not only legislating by administrative processes but are usurping the power and prerogatives of the people's courts. . . .

A part of the difficulty is in the executive branch of the government. Although the national government, unlike the states, has a single-headed executive, the executive departments are composed of a multitude of bureaus and other subdivisions that are not well organized in their relations to one another. There is overlapping, duplication, and even conflict of work. The director of finance of the War Department said that, in the recent war,

**Duplication
and confusion
in the execu-
tive branch**

The War Department entered this war without any fixed or carefully digested and prepared financial system. There were at the beginning of the war five . . . bureaus each independent of the others, each making its own contracts, doing its own purchasing, doing its own accounting, with as many different methods as there were bureaus. As a result they were competing with each other in a market where the supplies in many cases for which they were competing were restricted in amount. . . . There was no central authority to prune, revise, or compare estimates submitted and to coördinate expenditures, and that naturally resulted in overlappings and duplications, and some of them of a large amount.²

But even for this duplication and lack of coördination the responsibility rests largely with Congress, for it creates departments, bureaus, and other subdivisions of the executive branch of government, defines their duties, and appropriates the money for their work; and in Congress, as we have seen, the responsi-

¹ "Bureaucratic legislation" here means law making by bureaus in the executive branch of the government.

² Testimony before Budget Committee, quoted by Will Payne, "Your Budget," *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan. 3, 1920, p. 32.

bility is divided among a large number of committees that are not well coördinated.

As this chapter is being written, Congress is making a thorough survey of all the departments of the executive branch of the government, with a view to a reorganization to eliminate duplication and confusion, and to secure greater efficiency and economy in administration.

Probably the most important step taken in many years in the direction of establishing a real leadership in our national government and making possible a more effective control over it, is the enactment by Congress, in 1921, of a law providing for a *national budget system*.

This Act requires the President to submit annually to Congress a budget, in which shall be set forth in detail:

1. The condition of the Treasury at the end of the last fiscal year, the estimated condition of the Treasury at the end of the year in progress, and the estimated condition of the Treasury at the end of the next year in case the proposals of the budget are adopted;
2. The revenues and expenditures of the government during the last fiscal year, and the estimated revenues and expenditures during the current year;
3. The provisions which, in his opinion, should be made to meet the governmental needs during the year to come;
4. Other necessary or helpful financial statements and data for the information of Congress.

"As former President Taft once expressed it, the formulation and submission of the budget will be the supreme act of the President as the head of the government. . . . For the first time. . . . the President will be under the obligation of meeting the primary duty of a general manager of submitting to his board of directors [Congress] a full and complete report of how he and his subordinates have conducted operations in the past and what, in his opinion, should be the financial and work program of the government in the future."¹

In order that the President may fulfil his obligation as imposed by the law, the Budget Act creates a *Bureau of the Budget*,

¹ W. F. Willoughby, "National Budget System," in *The Weekly Review*, June 18, 1921.

the head of which is directly responsible to the President, and the duty of which is to take the estimates submitted by the heads of the several executive departments, to analyze and revise them, and from them to compile a single, unified estimate for the entire government establishment. Heretofore, each department has made its own estimate, naturally seeking to get as large an appropriation as possible, and has then submitted it to the Secretary of the Treasury, who passed it on to Congress just as it came to him, along with the estimates of all the other departments. Congress then began, through its various committees, an attempt to legislate to meet the needs of the government.

In the preparation of their bills the committee on appropriations and the other committees in charge of appropriations are compelled to work more or less blindly. Sometimes they hold extensive hearings endeavoring to get a complete grasp of the multitudinous detailed expenditures for which they must provide. But, of course, it is impossible for the several committees, in the time at their disposal, to give even minor matters the amount of attention demanded by sound public economy.¹

The new Bureau of the Budget, with its expert staff, now does all the preliminary work of investigation and is at the call of Congress to furnish it, as well as the President, with all necessary information. The Budget Bureau also has the duty of studying all departments of the executive branch of the government to discover where reorganization will make them more efficient.

Meanwhile, the House of Representatives has amended its rules so that hereafter all appropriations to meet the budget needs will be made by a single appropriations committee. Thus while the responsibility for making the budget is fixed definitely with the President, the responsibility for meeting budget requirements is fixed equally definitely with this one committee in the House of Representatives.

**Fixing
responsibility
for appropriations**

¹ Charles A., Beard, *American Government and Politics*, pp. 366, 367.

If only a reasonable attempt is made by Congress and the Administration to carry out these provisions in the spirit in which they are conceived, a new chapter will have been written in the story of the American people's effort to obtain an honest and efficient administration of their national affairs.¹

A budget system, however good it may be, like all other governmental machinery is merely an organization for team work, and will do very little good unless the team work is forthcoming, not only among the various branches and departments of government, but also on the part of the citizens. The new national budget system will be effective in securing better service and better control and better leadership only to the extent that Congress and the Executive make it so. Moreover,

If there is a real budget it has got to be your budget. It will be good, bad or indifferent finally just in proportion to your interest in it and your expression of that interest at the polls and elsewhere. . . . If there is a good budget system — not on paper, but in actual practice — you've got to make it. If, when a budget bill is finally enacted . . . you say, "Well, that job is done," and dismiss it from your mind, there will be no lasting gain. . . .²

Effective control over government can be exercised only by *public opinion* and *public interest*. We may have any kind of government we want, if we only want it badly enough, and only when we want it badly enough. The blame for inefficiency and wastefulness on the part of government at Washington, or at the state capital, or in the city hall, rests largely with the people back home, who are either selfish or blind to the fact that the interests of the nation are larger than their own or those of their own little community. The very people who talk most loudly about the extravagance of government, or about the burden of taxes, are likely to be the ones who expect most from their congressmen for purely personal or local advantage. They are likely to judge their representative's fitness for his

¹ Willoughby, "National Budget System," *The Weekly Review*, June 18, 1921.

² Will Payne, "Your Budget," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 3, 1920, p. 30.

position more by his ability to get funds from the public treasury for local gratification than by his attitude toward great national questions.

Who is the present Speaker of the House of Representatives?

Who are some of the more prominent leaders of both political parties in the House of Representatives? In the Senate?

What are some of the more important committees in each House of Congress?

Report on the procedure by which a bill becomes a law, from the time when it is introduced until it goes into effect as the law of the land (see reference to Beard, in Readings).

What bills have been introduced by the representative from your district? By senators from your state? (The *Congressional Record* will give this information. It should be in your public library. Consult its index for the names of your representative and senators.)

Follow and report on the course of debate on some important question before Congress (see *Congressional Record*).

What is meant by "filibustering" in Congress?

What are the reasons for the privileges conferred upon members of Congress by Article I, section 6, clause 1, of the Constitution?

What is "log-rolling" in Congress? Why so called?

Watch the newspapers and magazines for progress on the reorganization of the administrative departments of the government — creation of new departments or bureaus, consolidation of bureaus, transfer of activities from one bureau or department to another, etc.

Report on the organization of the new national budget system. (Consult your librarian. A copy of the law may be obtained by writing to your Congressman.)

Who is the director of the Bureau of the Budget? Who is the Comptroller General? What are the duties of each?

Why does publicity regarding the acts of our representatives in the government give the people greater control over them?

Watch newspapers and magazines for accomplishments by the new Bureau of the Budget.

Discuss the new budget system until you are sure you see why it should give the President greater leadership, and secure greater efficiency of service and greater control over government by the people.

The judicial power of the United States government is vested by the Constitution "in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior

courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish" (Art. III, sec. 1). The number of judges in the Supreme Court is determined by Congress, and they are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. At present the Supreme Court consists of a chief justice and eight associate justices. Congress has created *circuit courts of appeals*, of which there are now nine, each "circuit" including several states; and *district courts*, of which there is at least one in every state, and sometimes several. In addition to these there is a *court of customs appeals* and a *court of claims*, for special classes of cases. The courts of the District of Columbia are also United States courts, inasmuch as the District is governed entirely by the national government. The judges of all United States courts are appointed by the President and hold office for life.

The powers of the federal courts are stated in Article III, section 2, of the Constitution. In general, they have jurisdiction

Powers of the federal courts over cases of a national or interstate character. Most cases that come in the first instance before the federal courts are tried in the United States district

courts, going to the higher courts only on appeal; but there are certain classes of cases that go to the Supreme Court at once (Art. III, sec. 2, cl. 2). A case brought to trial before a state court may be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States when the Constitution, the laws, or the treaties of the United States are involved, and its decision is final. The Supreme Court may declare a law passed by Congress or an act of the President null and void if, in its opinion, such law or act is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution. It has been questioned whether the framers of the Constitution intended the Supreme Court to have this power, but it exercises the power on the ground that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land to which even Congress and the President are subject, and that it is the sacred duty of the courts to preserve it from violation.

Study the powers of the federal courts in Article III, sections 1 and 2

What is treason? (Art. III, sec. 3, cl. 1.)

What is meant by the second clause in section 3 of Article III?

Who is the present Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States?

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APPENDIX

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION I. *Congress in General*

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II. *House of Representatives*

1st Clause. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

2d Clause. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3d Clause. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and, excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of rep-

representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4th Clause. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5th Clause. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III. *The Senate.*

1st Clause. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2d Clause. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3d Clause. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4th Clause. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5th Clause. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6th Clause. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall all be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7th Clause. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV. *Both Houses.*

1st Clause. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2d Clause. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V. *The Houses Separately.*

1st Clause. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2d Clause. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3d Clause. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4th Clause. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI. *Privileges and Disabilities of Members.*

1st Clause. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from

the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2d Clause. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII. *Mode of passing Laws.*

1st Clause. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2d Clause. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3d Clause. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII. *Powers granted to Congress.*

The Congress shall have power—

1st Clause. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2d Clause. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3d Clause. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4th Clause. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5th Clause. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6th Clause. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7th Clause. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8th Clause. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9th Clause. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10th Clause. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

11th Clause. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12th Clause. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13th Clause. To provide and maintain a navy;

14th Clause. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15th Clause. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16th Clause. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17th Clause. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all

places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—and

18th Clause. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX. *Powers denied to the United States.*

1st Clause. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2d Clause. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3d Clause. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4th Clause. No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5th Clause. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6th Clause. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7th Clause. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8th Clause. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X. *Powers denied to the States.*

1st Clause. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass

any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2d Clause. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3d Clause. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION I. *President and Vice-President.*

1st Clause. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2d Clause. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress. But no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The 3d clause has been superseded by the 12th article of Amendments. See page xix.]

4th Clause. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5th Clause. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6th Clause. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability.

both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7th Clause. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8th Clause. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION II. *Powers of the President.*

1st Clause. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2d Clause. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3d Clause. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III. *Duties of the President.*

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them

to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV. *Impeachment of the President.*

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

SECTION I. *The United States Courts.*

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II. *Jurisdiction of the United States Courts.*

1st Clause. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2d Clause. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3d Clause. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III. *Treason.*

1st Clause. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2d Clause. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

SECTION I. *State Records.*

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II. *Privileges of Citizens.*

1st Clause. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2d Clause. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3d Clause. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III. *New States and Territories.*

1st Clause. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2d Clause. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

SECTION IV. *Guarantees to the States.*

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. POWERS OF AMENDMENT.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. PUBLIC DEBT, SUPREMACY OF THE CONSTITUTION, OATH OF OFFICE, RELIGIOUS TEST.

1st Clause. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2d Clause. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3d Clause. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS

PROPOSED BY CONGRESS AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES, PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. *Freedom of Religion.*

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. *Right to bear Arms.*

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. *Quartering Soldiers on Citizens.*

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. *Search Warrants.*

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. *Trial for Crime.*

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. *Rights of Accused Persons.*

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII. *Suits at Common Law.*

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII. *Excessive Bail.*

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. *Rights Retained by the People.*

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. *Reserved Rights of the States.*

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit, in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.

1st Clause. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons

voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2d Clause. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3d Clause. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION I. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. II. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION I. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United

States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. II. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SEC. III. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SEC. IV. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SEC. V. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION I. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. II. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

APPENDIX

ARTICLE XVI.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.

SECTION I. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

SEC. II. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

SEC. III. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII.

SECTION I. After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

SEC. II. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SEC. III. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

SECT. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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